

# The Future of the Fellowship

KIRBY PAGE

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation confronted a serious crisis when its Council met on December 16 to determine future policy in the light of the replies to a questionnaire which had been mailed to its 7,500 members. Perhaps the quickest way to come to grips with the issues involved is to examine a summary of all responses received by December 22. All this information, with the exception of answers from 93 persons, was in the hands of the Council when it met. The opinions of 1,089 members were registered as follows:

- I. Do you believe that the F. O. R. should be primarily a religious fellowship and should emphasize the Christian approach to personal and social problems? Yes, 829; No, 199.
- II. Put a check beside one of the paragraphs below which, from the point of view of your own position as to the struggles of workers or other under-privileged groups, seems to you best to express how far the F. O. R. should go.  
In seeking for "a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another" I believe the members and secretaries of the Fellowship should go so far as to:—
  - 229 1. Proclaim the ideal of such a social order and endeavor through methods of love, moral suasion and education to bring in the new order, but refuse to identify themselves with either the under-privileged class or the privileged class to the virtual exclusion of the other.
  - 210 2. Identify themselves with the just aims of the workers and under-privileged, and protest against the use of violence by the police, militia and under-privileged groups; raise and distribute relief to workers striking for a living wage; attempt peacefully to maintain the civil liberties of exploited groups and espouse publicly their aims, but without the use of any form of coercion.
  - 192 3. Assist in organizing the workers into unions and in leading them in strikes for a living wage, and if need be in a non-violent general strike; assist in organizing the workers into a political party which will use non-violent political and economic coercive measures in order to secure the abolition of capitalism, but dissociating themselves from any group that used armed violence to gain its end.
  - 333 4. In case the legal owners of the essential industries resort to armed force in an attempt to maintain or to regain control of their property, refuse to use violence against them, but offer to serve the workers as a social worker among their families, as a maintainer of food supplies, as a nurse or stretcher bearer, or in other non-violent ways.

- 106 5. In the situation described in No. 4 consent to the use of armed force if necessary to secure the advantage of the workers, but regretfully and only while the necessity for it continues.
- 19 6. In anticipation of general class warfare, assist in the arming of workers and in other ways prepare them for the struggle; when war is fully joined, urge workers to acts of violence and participate with them in such acts.
- III. Should the F. O. R. hold to non-violence in the class war as well as in international war? Yes, 877; No, 97.
- IV. A secretary of the F. O. R. should in my opinion resign if his position with reference to the class struggle is  
II—1, 87; 2, 41; 3, 78; 4, 51; 5, 529; 6, 790.

It is apparent that 80 per cent of the persons responding hold the opinion that the Fellowship should remain primarily a religious movement, with a Christian emphasis. Concerning coercion and violence, the various attitudes may be classified as follows:

- 439—or 40 per cent—believe that the Fellowship should not advocate any form of coercion, 229 saying that the F.O.R. should not identify itself exclusively with the under-privileged.
- 525—or 48 per cent—favor identification with the workers and the use of non-violent coercion, but oppose the sanctioning or using of armed force.
- 125—or 12 per cent—are convinced that the Fellowship should, under extreme circumstances, sanction or encourage the use of armed force in behalf of the workers.

The replies to No. III serve as a check on the answers to the previous question. According to the committee that prepared the questionnaire, the number of persons selecting II-5 plus the number selecting II-6 should be approximately equal to the number answering "No" to III. As a matter of fact, the number expressing the opinion that the Fellowship should *not* hold to non-violence in the class war as well as in international war is 10 per cent of those answering the question, as compared with 12 per cent taking position II-5 or II-6. *The evidence therefore seems conclusive that 88 or 90 per cent of the persons who replied desire to have the Fellowship remain pacifist in the class war.* Although some 200 persons refrained from expressing an opinion concerning No. IV, 529 individuals believe that a secretary should resign if he holds position II-5, while 790 believe that he should resign if he accepts position II-6.

The returns available at the time of the Council meeting presented a picture almost exactly identical with the summary above, which includes later returns.



At the Council meeting it was reported that 401 persons selected II-1 or II-2, or a combination of 40 per cent of those responding; 477 selected II-3 or II-4, or 48 per cent; 118 selected II-5 or II-6, or 12 per cent.

WITH this information in hand, the Council decided that the Fellowship should remain pacifist and that only resolute pacifists should be employed as secretaries. There may be grounds for legitimate difference of opinion concerning the value of pacifism in the class war, but surely there is no sound basis for objection to the Council's decision to employ as secretaries only persons who hold the fundamental convictions which constitute the reason for the very existence of the Fellowship. Scores of other organizations are tackling international and economic problems from various directions. The significance of the F. O. R. is found in its goal and its procedure. It seeks "a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another." And, assuming that the replies which came in are typical of the opinions of the entire membership, 88 or 90 per cent of the Fellowship repudiates armed action in seeking this objective. The F. O. R. was founded in wartime as a pacifist movement and throughout its existence has been known as such.

By a vote of 18 to 12, the Council decided not to re-employ J. B. Matthews after the expiration of his present term of office on February 1. This action was based primarily on Mr. Matthews' views and on financial grounds. In inviting the other secretaries to continue their activities, a condition was attached to the effect that they must remain pacifist, as interpreted by a majority of the Council in the light of the 88 or 90 per cent vote.

The suggestion has been made that the Council by its action has established itself as a heresy-hunting agency to ferret out dissenters. Another interpretation is possible, namely, that the Council has concluded that it is advisable to employ as secretaries only persons who hold the basic pacifist convictions which constitute the foundation of the Fellowship. Would anyone question the right of the Communist Party to choose as secretaries only persons who accept Communist strategy? Should the Socialist Party be condemned if it refuses to continue in office an official who has repudiated the platform and procedure of the party and gone over to the Communists? Would it be sensible for the League for Industrial Democracy to employ a secretary who openly expresses his allegiance to Fascism? *Surely it is reasonable and advisable for a pacifist organization to grant executive responsibility only to individuals who accept its basic principles and who have confidence in its strategy.*

The objection has been raised, however, that the vote in the Council proved so close that it is not legitimate to claim that the Fellowship is unswervingly

pacifist in the class war. A switch of four votes would have continued Mr. Matthews in office, and a change of three votes would have reversed the decision to continue Mr. Nevin Sayre as Secretary. But the explanation is obvious: position II-5 was much more heavily represented in the Council than in the membership at large, the ratio being nearly three times as great. This is due to the fact that about two-thirds of the Council members present at the meeting reside in Greater New York, where position II-5 is more widely prevalent than in most other sections of the nation. Surely it is not legitimate to accord as much weight to the judgment of a minority of 12 Council members as to that of a majority of 18 Council members who are supported by the recorded convictions of 88 or 90 per cent of the persons who sent in replies to the questionnaire.

The action of the Council is being interpreted in some quarters as revealing a rightward swing toward capitalism. Such an interpretation is based on the conclusion that refusal to use armed force in behalf of the workers, under certain circumstances, constitutes support of capitalism. Wartime pacifists will recall that they were widely accused of being pro-German because they refused to support the war. It is interesting also to recall various attacks made by Communists against left-wing Socialists as being more dangerous to the cause of the workers than even the Fascists.

There is an abundance of evidence that the Fellowship is not more conservative *but more radical* than it was two or three years ago. The movement is to the left, not to the right. It is therefore interesting to turn to an article by J. B. Matthews which appeared in THE WORLD TOMORROW of October 26, 1932. In this article Mr. Matthews summarized the results of a poll of the Fellowship members on their choice for President of the United States. A total of 1,709 members participated in this straw vote, with the following results:

Thomas .....	1,284—or 75.1 per cent
Hoover .....	348—or 20.4 per cent
Roosevelt .....	49—or 2.9 per cent
Foster .....	28—or 1.6 per cent

In commenting upon these figures, Mr. Matthews wrote:

A Socialist member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation may be proud of the fact that three-fourths of his fellow pacifists are sufficiently realistic in their approach to the problem of war to cast their votes for Norman Thomas. . . . The recognition of capitalism as a war system is rapidly spreading through the ranks of those who are working for peace. Many of those who first approached modern social problems through the peace movement have come to see that capitalism, with its competitive nationalism and imperialism, can no more establish an enduring peace than greed can be transformed into generosity. . . . While socialism makes this important contribution to pacifism, the latter also offers a technique of non-violent resistance which places socialism on a plane of strategy far above the romantic foolishness of those radicals who talk



about breaking open the armories to seize first guns, then power. . . . But violence is elemental stuff, raw and primitive, and the despairing will finally resort to it even in the face of almost certain defeat, unless there is effective education for social pressures that cannot be resisted. In this field lies the unique opportunity of current pacifism. Preliminary to any degree of success is a closer alignment of pacifists with social radicals than has been characteristic of peace-makers in the past. There is hope that the overwhelming preference of pacifists for Thomas in the coming election is more than a straw at which we clutch.

*There is certainly more radicalism in pacifist ranks today than there was 15 months ago when these words were written.* It is true, of course, that in the membership of the Fellowship are to be found many conservatives who are not seeking to supplant capitalism with socialism. It is impossible to determine the exact size of this group. Probably the most reliable data is furnished by the 23 per cent who in 1932 voted for candidates of the Republican Party or the Democratic Party. Radical members of the F. O. R. who are vigorously opposed to capitalism and who are striving to supplant it with a coöperative commonwealth may be divided into three groups: (1.) Those who believe that the Fellowship should refrain from coercion and rely upon the methods of moral suasion, education, and adventurous love which accepts self-suffering like the Cross. (2.) Those who are convinced that the above methods must be supplemented by economic and political coercion which falls short of armed violence. (3.) Those who believe that armed violence is inescapable and that it is better to use it in behalf of the exploited than to acquiesce in the armed domination of the owning class.

**I**T is imperative, if we are to think clearly about this crucial problem, that we realize that the chief difference between these three groups of radicals is not in the intensity of their opposition to capitalism, *but in the methods* selected to establish a coöperative social order. In going over the replies to the questionnaire, one is impressed with the fact that individuals who are daily demonstrating their unequivocal opposition to the capitalist system are found in all three groups. The differences between them are not degrees of zeal but *divergencies in judgment* as to which strategy is most likely to accomplish the desired end.

Much of the confusion which pervades the discussion of this problem is due to the failure to distinguish between radicalism in *objective* and radicalism in *method*. Indeed, there are sharp and legitimate differences of opinion as to which method is really most radical—reliance upon love and moral suasion, utilization of non-warlike coercion, or resort to armed violence. Since this point of view is open to the criticism that being "leftist" in phrase is not only useless but obstructionist unless it is accompanied by "leftist" action, perhaps it is appropriate to emphasize the

fact that the controversy centers in the question, *What is effective action?* The Communist Party accuses Fenner Brockway, A. J. Muste, and other "left-wingers" of being "leftist" in phrase only. Among the reddest of non-Communist radicals there is a tendency to speak of Norman Thomas as being at the left in words only. Socialists in turn set a low valuation on the efforts of liberals.

**A**S the Council faces the future program of the Fellowship, emphasis should be placed upon the fact that *persons voting for II-4 constitute the largest single grouping.* It is therefore important to grasp the significance of this attitude. The position of the question in the scale indicates that the committee intended it to represent movement in the direction of coercion beyond that of II-3—"how far the F. O. R. should go." I selected II-4 as the position most nearly representing my own view on the assumption that it differs from II-3 in that its exponents are convinced that they should *continue* to support the workers in non-warlike ways *even if* the victims of exploitation retaliate with violence. Thus combined, this position may be stated as follows:

Assist in organizing the workers into unions and in leading them in strikes for a living wage, and if need be in a non-violent general strike; assist in organizing the workers into a political party which will use non-violent political and economic coercive measures in order to secure the abolition of capitalism. In case the legal owners of the essential industries resort to armed force in an attempt to maintain or to regain control of their property, refuse to use violence against them (or to sanction the use of armed force), but offer to serve the workers as a social worker among their families, as a maintainer of food supplies, as a nurse or stretcher bearer, or in other non-violent ways (for example, as a journalist and publicist).

That the council does not propose to permit the Fellowship to move to the right is indicated by its action in authorizing the chairman to appoint a special committee to canvass the possibilities of securing a new secretary who will not be more extreme than position II-4 and *not hostile to that position*; and that it voted to continue the services of Charles Webber and Howard Kester, on the understanding that they continue to maintain resolute pacifism (to be evidenced by rejecting positions II-5 and II-6). To me it seems imperative that the Fellowship should maintain on its staff two additional secretaries to supplement the effective service of Nevin Sayre, one to give primary attention to industrial problems, and the other to devote himself to race relations. A minimum program demands support for two of the ablest, most experienced, and most radical pacifists in the country to coöperate in carrying forward the ideals and in demonstrating the strategy of the Fellowship. This is no time for retreat, but for vigorous and continuous advance.



# Not in the Headlines

## Pullman Porters Seek NRA Protection

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is engaged in a strenuous effort to get Congress to place the Pullman Company under the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act. The Pullman Company, notorious for its anti-labor policy, has set up the contention that it is not subject to the jurisdiction of the NRA, because the Act does not regulate carriers, and that it is beyond the control of the Emergency Railroad Transportation Act, since the term "sleeping car companies" was not definitely mentioned in that legislation. Thousands of porters, the Brotherhood points out, draw pay at the rate of \$72.50 a month, for only five and ten days a month, out of which they must pay \$2.20 a month for insurance, buy their own uniforms, pay for their meals in transportation and even supply the polish with which they shine the passengers' shoes. The Brotherhood asks citizens to write to their Senators and Congressmen to support legislation forcing the Pullman Company under the jurisdiction of the Railroad Act.

## Socialist Quarterly Enlarges Editorial Staff

Recognizing the need of a body of sound theory behind the Socialist movement in America, the Socialist Party has enlarged the editorial staff of the *American Socialist Quarterly* and has made plans to convert the journal into a substantial theoretical organ. In addition to the former editorial staff—David P. Berenberg, Anna Bercowitz, Haim Kantorovitch—four new editors have been added. They are Devere Allen, Andrew J. Biemiller, Roy Burt and Harry W. Laidler.

## Rural Homes

Nearly half of the homes owned by American farmers in 1930 were valued at less than \$1,000, and only four per cent valued at more than \$5,000, reports the Census Bureau. Sixty-five per cent of tenant farmers' homes were valued at under \$1,000.

## Against Compulsory M. T.

The Undergraduate Scholarship Committee at New York University has recommended that military training in that institution be placed on an optional rather than compulsory basis.

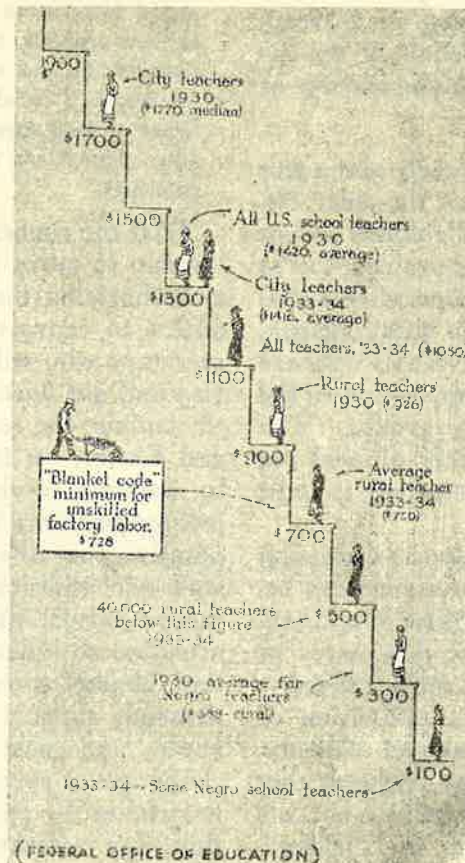
## Napoleon Municipal Plant Plays Santa

The municipal light plant of Napoleon, Ohio, gave residents a Christmas gift. Their November light bills were marked "paid." The total amounted to more than \$7,000. The plant has accumulated a large surplus during its operation.

## The Ethics of Capitalism

In commenting upon the recent revelations before the Senate committee, Mr. H. Parker Willis, one of the founders of the Federal Reserve Act, writes in *Current History*: "The testimony adduced at Washington appears more and more like an impeachment of the general standard of morality, not merely of Wall Street, but in the country at large. This in no way involves palliation or attempt to justify what was done. It merely recognizes why the events took place. The persons who committed them were not 'victims of circumstances' and they ought to have known better; but they were, in fact, ordinary citizens, no better and no worse than a good many others. That their conduct was not repeated many times over by smaller bankers and business men was probably the result of lack of opportunity rather than the difference in individual standards of ethics. The truth of the whole matter is that the American public has, in the past two decades, grown more and more deeply materialistic and less inclined to adhere to, or demand, high professional standards of honorable conduct."

## The Descent of Teachers' Salaries During the Economic Crisis



—From the United States News

## Navy Honors Prince of Peace

From an Associated Press dispatch we learn that "the birth of the Prince of Peace was celebrated today aboard the slate-gray sea guardians of the nation's peace. At their anchorages along the Pacific Coast, from San Diego to Seattle, submarines and giant aircraft carriers, destroyers and battleships . . . abounded in Christmas spirit. It was Children's Day aboard. . . . The great guns formed an awesome background for the fairyland of miniature lakes, mountain scenes, fireplaces, snowbanks, Christmas trees and all manner of flag decorations. . . . After the noontime dinner the sailors put on an entertainment which was climaxed with the arrival of Santa Claus in a navy airplane."

## Workers Urged to Strike Against War Appropriations

The American League Against War and Fascism is circulating petitions to be signed and forwarded to the President of the United States protesting against appropriations for war purposes. An appeal has been issued calling upon all workers for peace to carry on a vigorous campaign against war appropriations, culminating on January 29 with demonstrations throughout the country. Industrial workers and farmers are urged on this day to organize temporary stoppages of work in factories, on the docks, and on all war jobs.

## Socialist Christians Expand

At a regional conference of members of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians, held in New York on Monday, December 18, it was announced by the National Executive Committee that fifteen groups are being formed and five are already functioning. Those who led discussions on immediate revolutionary tactics were Reinhold Niebuhr, David Cory and Charles Webber. Henry P. Van Dusen spoke on the necessity for a theology and discipline of the collectivity. A committee for New York was elected.

## Soldiers Return Medals

Twenty-one members of the Stratford Branch of the Canadian Legion recently surrendered their Victory Medals, to be sent to the Finance Ministers of 21 nations, with a message from which the following words are taken: "Fifteen years ago we laid down our arms, victorious over the forces of greed, nationalism, armament and war. Our victory was rewarded with these victory medals. Today nationalism flourishes, greed is rampant, armaments menace our homes and war impends. The fruits of our victory have vanished. There remain to us who fought nothing but our memories, our medals and the war debts."



# A Dialectical Marxist Interpretation

FRANCIS A. HENSON

ONLY sentimentalists will regret unduly the division which is now taking place in the membership of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which has already irrevocably divided the National Council almost in half and resulted in the dismissal of J. B. Matthews. Clear thinking on the class struggle is destined to divide those who identify themselves with the revolutionary working-class movement from the absolute pacifists who, although varying in the degree to which they desire to support the workers' cause, objectively line up with the preservers of the *status quo*. The question before the Fellowship was one of who would leave and who would stay in the organization.

The most significant aspect of the historic meeting of the National Council of the F. O. R. on December 16 was the manner in which this conflict came into the open. As in the actual revolutionary struggle for power, the traditionalists, the defenders of abstract concepts and the economically privileged took the initiative in fighting the more left-wing group. The returns on the questionnaire were reported by Dr. Goodwin Watson. Instantly the officers, without authorization of the more representative executive committee, brought before the Council a report favoring the reappointment of all secretaries except J. B. Matthews. Upon being questioned, the officers admitted that they had not reviewed the final returns of the questionnaire which was sent out to receive a mandate from the membership. This act of aggression on the part of the exclusively right-wing officers set the tone for the meeting and made the issue a much larger one than the question of the personality of any of the secretaries.

From the first bit of discussion, the left-wing group favored, on the basis of the questionnaire returns, the continuance or dismissal of both Nevin Sayre and J. B. Matthews and the maintaining of the Fellowship intact. The two motions to follow this procedure were defeated by votes of 18 to 13 and 16 to 11. I voted for the continuation of the Fellowship on this basis not in order to have a right and a left wing in eternal equilibrium—a typical liberal position—but because I was convinced that the class-struggle line was dominant inasmuch as it was being followed by three of the four secretaries—Matthews, Kester and Webber—and that it would completely win over the organization in a short time. Subconsciously, and in some cases with full recognition of the issue, the right wing sensed this danger. In the name of an absolutist position they allowed themselves to espouse vigorously a for-

mula to test all secretaries in the future. This was the final blow to a working-class oriented fellowship. The formula evolved in the discussion demanded that a secretary must not go beyond number 4 under Group II of the questionnaire and must look with disfavor on number 5 under the same group. The dialectical Marxist interpretation of this discussion of the formula allows no other inference than that the secretaries must be hostile to number 5 under II. It was surprising how soon the *New York Times'* news writer saw the significance of this particular point.

AS for the questionnaire, as usually happens in most conflict situations, its findings were sufficiently ambiguous to enable both sides to use them to substantiate their respective positions. John Bennett, in his article in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* for December 21st, helped to show how inadequate many of the questions were and how, in his judgment, questions 2, 3 and 4 under II should have been grouped together. However, after making this statement he was forced to add some reservations about making room for incidental violence. Many of us feel that questions 3, 4 and 5, under II, all of which accept coercion with violence in the most extreme case, are much more adequately bracketed together. It is evident what a difference this grouping makes in one's interpretation of the returns from the questionnaire. For instance, instead of agreeing with John Bennett that question 5 and 6 must be considered together and "discarded together on pragmatic grounds," I would insist that the sixth position is in the present situation the position of no one but an agent provocateur planted by the enemies of the working class or of a very ignorant person. Although I voted for number 5 under II, I did not consider it fully descriptive of my position. It certainly cannot be linked with 6 under II at the present time.

A final observation on both the questionnaire findings and the meeting of the Council is the subordinate position that conventional religious considerations took. There are persons still in the religious tradition in both right and left wings. The only logical correlation—and it is to be expected—between the vote on the religious nature of the Fellowship and the vote on the class struggle is that many more religious people voted against active identification with the workers than was the case with the conventionally non-religious. This signifies that for many today the only worthwhile religion is inextricably related to the struggle to build a new civilization.



American traders are now vigorously opposed to armed intervention in lands where they are buying and selling. Numerous utterances and actions by high officials of the State Department during recent months reveal unmistakably an inclination to repudiate the Theodore Roosevelt corollary of the Monroe Doctrine which maintained that the United States is obliged to intervene in the Caribbean whenever foreign property and life is jeopardized, on the ground that since the Monroe Doctrine prohibits intervention by other powers, our government must assume responsibility for foreigners of various nationalities in these countries.

Moreover, there is a strong trend toward the abrogation of the Platt Amendment to the Cuban constitution, which authorizes the government of the United States to intervene in the island at its own discretion. The repudiation of this policy has become more urgently required because of the reported insistence of the Spanish Government that the United States assume responsibility for the protection of Spanish interests in Cuba. There is reason to believe that the State Department is prepared to go a long distance in the direction of complete abandonment of the policy of armed intervention if assured of public support. It will be recalled that some months ago President Roosevelt offered to enter into a multilateral treaty binding signatories to refrain from sending troops across their own frontiers. The peace movement of the United States has no more important immediate task before it than the informing and arousing of public opinion in support of the demand that hereafter the marines shall not follow the dollar.

## Religious Radicalism

THE WORLD TOMORROW is a journal of radical religion. Some of our readers read us for our radical convictions in the field of economics and politics, and accept our religious convictions with an amused tolerance. A smaller number read our pages because the journal is a religious one but regard our radicalism as slightly crazy. The radicals have on the whole made up their minds that religion is a reactionary force in life; they have arrived at this conviction because most organized religion is conservative. But so is organized education and organized art.

The real root of the irreligion of the modern radical is to be found in the prejudices and presuppositions of the Age of Reason, and not in the conservatism of organized religion. Marxism is in this sense a child of the Enlightenment. For the bourgeois "science of history," which thought it saw progress in evolution, it has substituted one which holds to a theory of progress through catastrophe. Both of these ideas are myths of history, and not science at all. That does not make them untrue: it means only that no purely scientific judgments can be made about the meaning and the ends of history. The scientific historian cannot go beyond

the effort to relate detailed causes and effects; and even in that task he usually avails himself of presuppositions about ultimate meaning which are not revealed in the facts themselves. If the facts actually validate these presuppositions, it proves that the myth from which they spring is true by at least that much. But it does not make the myth into a science.

The sense of the ultimate meaning of life can, in other words, be grasped only in mythical and not in scientific terms. The question which confronts each generation is never whether it is going to be religious or irreligious, but how adequate its religion will be. Only if it is completely lacking in vitality will it give up the struggle to find a meaning by which life can be lived.

Inevitably when men wrestle for the sense of life's meaning they discover an ultimate meaning which transcends present relativities. This may be the Christian's faith in God or the Marxian's faith in a classless society toward the realization of which all history seems to him to be conspiring. The adequacy of a religion is determined, more or less, by the degree to which it absolutizes the relative values which emerge in history or discovers their relativity and partiality because it has a more transcendent and unqualified absolute. Most "bad" religion proceeds from the first process and "good" religion from the second.

The tragedy of an "irreligious" Marxism is that it unconsciously reveals one of the evil fruits of religion which it protests against. Conventional religion gives the sanctity of the absolute to an unjust capitalistic civilization. Marxism protests against this; but it gives the aura of the absolute to the new civilization in Russia and thereby tends to confuse the social problems of the whole of Western civilization by insisting that the Russian pattern must be copied everywhere. Marxism, in other words, possesses a perspective from which to discover the inadequacies of a pre-revolutionary civilization but not one which is adequate to judge a post-revolution period. All of which means that Marxism is involved in the religious problem of mankind much more than it realizes. If it were not to such a large degree the spiritual child of a capitalistic civilization which it abhors, it would not make the mistake it has made on the religious problem. For the Age of Reason was the natural product of a bourgeois individualism and urban mechanism. It will be a long while before radicalism discovers that its venom against religion as such rests upon delusions.

THE WORLD TOMORROW must for this reason continue on a rather lonely road. But we are not at all dismayed by that fact. We affirm both Marxism and Christianity—Marxism because we believe in its immediate interpretation of history and its goal of a classless society, and more classical religion because its ultimate insights in regard to the meaning of life and history are and will remain valid.



# CORRESPONDENCE

## From the Chairman of the I. L. P.

I HAVE just seen Kirby Page's article in your issue of October 26th opposing any common action with Communists against an imperialist war. He makes certain references to the experience of the I. L. P. in Britain which require supplementing.

The I. L. P. is wholeheartedly participating in the Anti-War Movement in Britain. The chairman and vice-chairman are members of the I. L. P. Although the Labour Party has "banned" it, several large trade unions, including the Distributive Workers, are coöperating, as well as many local Labour Parties and trade unions. Pacifist organizations like the Union of Democratic Control and the No More War Movement are associated with it. Despite occasional lapses, the Communists have generally kept their promise to refrain from using the Anti-War Movement for sectarian ends or attacks upon other sections. The movement has succeeded in mobilizing considerable mass support.

Kirby Page writes of I. L. P. coöperation with the Communist Party as though it had been a failure. On specific issues it has been a distinct success, e. g., in common action against war and fascism, in organizing the unemployed, in industrial disputes, etc. It has not been a success where it has been attempted in more permanent forms, such as continuous joint propaganda. The temperament and tactics of the Communists have there made coöperation difficult.

So far as the Communist International is concerned, the position is this. The I. L. P. approached the C. I., *not* for affiliation, but to see whether a basis of coöperation could be found. Negotiations are proceeding, but it is fair to say that the attitude of the C. I. has discouraged even those who were most hopeful. The effect of this, however, has been good rather than bad upon our membership. The efforts of the Communists to divide our Party have completely failed. We have not lost 100 members to them (out of our 23,000), and there is now a greater loyalty to the I. L. P. and pride in it than I have ever known.

### Who's Who in This Issue

Oscar Cooley is executive secretary of the Coöperative League of the United States.

Pearl S. Buck, renowned author of "The Good Earth" and "Sons," has recently returned to China.

Harold Chapman Bailey is a member of the banking fraternity of Hartford, Connecticut.

Theresa Mayer Durlach is president of World Peaceways.

Rosika Schwimmer is internationally known for her work in the peace movement.

Jerome Davis is professor of practical philanthropy at Yale University Divinity School.

### A Request

We would be grateful for the return of any extra copies readers may possess of our issues for September 14th and October 26th of this year.

THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N.Y.C.

Of course the Communists will attempt to win the membership of other sections. The way to meet that is not to fear them, but to show that your own way is the effective way of transforming capitalism into socialism. If Socialists coöperate with the Communists in that confident spirit, they will not suffer, and the common cause against imperialist war will be strengthened.

New York City

A. FENNER BROCKWAY

## Kirby Page Replies

IT seems desirable that I comment briefly on the above letter from Mr. Brockway and upon the communication from Mr. Francis Henson printed in our last issue. The basic question is not whether it is *possible* to coöperate with Communists in a campaign against imperialist war, but whether that is the *most effective* strategy for Socialists and other pacifists. In the British Isles the Independent Labour Party answers yes, while the British Labour Party says no. Which strategy is proving to be the most successful in the struggle against war? To me it appears incontestable that the latter's policy is incomparably more effective than that of the I. L. P. The combined strength of the Communist Party and the I. L. P. is only a fraction of the power of the Labour Party. For the latter to enter into official coöperation with the Communist Party would be to lose much of its trade union constituency. The failure of the Communists to hold even one seat in Parliament after a dozen years of depression and unemployment reveals conclusively the unwillingness of the British working class to adopt the Communist strategy of violent seizure of power. On the other hand, the British Labour Party has made tremendous gains in recent months and may come into power within the next few years on a revolutionary platform. It would be sheer folly for this party to handicap itself unnecessarily by entering into official coöperation with the Communist Party, with its minimum influence.

A parallel situation prevails in the United States. The skilled and semi-skilled workers, to say nothing of the vast middle class, simply will not follow Communist strategy. It is difficult enough for socialism to make progress, but the movement would be infinitely slower if Socialists attempted to team up with Communists. After four years of economic misery, the membership of the Communist Party in the United States is less than 20,000, more than half of whom are unemployed, and only four per cent in shop nuclei, according to Secretary Browder. The added strength that comes from Communists is far less than would be the loss of alienating workers who are unwilling to become entangled with communism.

The taunt that we pacifists are afraid to meet Communists in open discussion leaves me unmoved, just as I would be unconcerned over the charge that we are afraid to enter into a united front with reserve officers' associations. The Communist *method* of securing peace can no more be reconciled with pacifism than can the *method* of military preparedness. Many army officers genuinely desire peace and justice, but are convinced that these ends can be reached only through preparedness for war. Likewise, Communists believe that an equable society can be created only through class war, violent seizure of power and the maintenance of a proletarian dictatorship by terror. The *methods* of pacifists, militarists and Communists are irreconcilable. Therefore, an attempted united front of groups with irreconcilable strategies is an unwise expenditure of time and energy.

K. P.



and fifty years, we refuse to accept its conclusion that we have to wait for another World War. We believe the building of the "World State" should begin without delay—and should begin under the capable leadership of the H. G. Wellses and similar practical idealists. It would be a fine thing if Mr. Wells would devote the rest of his life to active coöperation in the immediate erection of the "World State" of which he has drawn such alluring word pictures.

ROSIKA SCHWIMMER

## Religion in a Decadent Age

*The Protestant Churches and the Industrial Crisis.* By Edmund B. Chaffee. Macmillan. Pp. xii, 243. \$2.00.

MR. Chaffee has written a stimulating volume on the social task of the Protestant church. He starts out by showing that religion and economics can never be separated, that sacrificial love always stands as a challenge to the traditional lust for wealth or power. He challenges the necessity of unemployment, of war, and the profit motive. He follows this by showing the duty of the church in the industrial crisis, the technique of preaching the gospel and the responsibility of the individual Christian. One of the most valuable aspects of the book is the treatment of the history and program of the Labor Temple itself, of which Mr. Chaffee is director and pastor. If every minister could thoughtfully read this volume it would help enormously to increase the social effectiveness of the Christian church.

In spite of the stimulating and challenging appeal which Mr. Chaffee has succeeded in making in these pages, I laid down the volume feeling somewhat dissatisfied. At certain points it is a little confused and vague. The author declares that the most fundamental cause of the present catastrophic economic breakdown is in the development of our machine technique. Men are being displaced by machines. This, it seems to me, is not seeing the situation in its entirety. The machine is of tremendous benefit to mankind. It is only because mankind is using the machine for the purposes of private profit and selfish exploitation that it has caused damage. The capitalistic system itself would seem to be a very much more fundamental cause of our economic breakdown than is the machine technique.

Again, the author says that we must have social planning so that the needs of all the people shall be put first. This is excellent, but just what does he mean when we translate planning from the printed page into the social order? On a later page he maintains that little can be accomplished by equality of income, and urges taxation of higher incomes. However, a little bit later he goes on to say that the great industries must be taken over by the state. It seems probable that unless state ownership can succeed in more equitably distributing wealth and so bringing about more equal income, it can have little value. The substantial equality of income is a goal which would probably make for a more equitable social order.

The author further maintains that the church does not have the responsibility of laying down concrete economic programs. It is rather the task of the church to proclaim righteousness. This may be true, but it is also the task of the church to promote economic righteousness and this means championing definite and specific economic programs. Even in the description of what the Labor Temple itself is doing one cannot help but wonder whether it should not actively try to assist in organizing the workers by doing something more than merely offering free rooms, for instance. If it is the duty of the church to proclaim righteousness,

is it not a necessary corollary that it must help organize a righteous economic order? And does not this involve adequate organization of labor?

The author maintains that the Christian will not engage in class war any more than he will engage in international war. Here one encounters the difficulty that class war is a term which is very, much more vague and indefinite than international war. Very often strikes are classified as class war, but the Christian may at times be called on to participate in strike situations. It cannot be successfully maintained that some element of coercion is not a part of the technique of promoting Christian righteousness.

The chapter on the "Technique of Preaching the Social Gospel" suggests that generally the indirect approach is best. Here again so much depends on what one means by the indirect approach. Were the parables of Jesus indirect approach? Was his statement that it is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye than it is for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God the indirect approach? It might be argued that we have too much preaching in the United States today which uses the indirect approach.

In his final conclusion Mr. Chaffee maintains that the minister must not be in a hurry. Here again we are on debatable ground. With eleven million unemployed and the world steadily drifting toward another world war, one might raise the question, Why not be in a hurry? We do not have unlimited time to prevent the catastrophe. If the church of God is to take the most effective action, it must strike quickly and effectively. It perhaps needs to be in more of a hurry than it has been in the past few decades. Even the author himself in his final conclusion maintains that there is just a chance of averting a costly and bloody revolution in the United States. One would like to have seen a more definite and concrete analysis of the responsibility of the church toward the labor movement and of the definite steps which must be taken by the Protestant church if it is to be saved. The Book is a fine example of a sincere attempt by a liberal Protestant churchman to face the industrial crisis of our time. If it could be made compulsory reading in every adult class of our churches, American Christians generally would face much more of the realities of our social situation than they are now doing.

JEROME DAVIS.

## WE RECOMMEND

*Russia Day by Day.* By Corliss and Margaret Lamont. Covici-Friede. \$2.00. An informative diary by two travelers who liked the new Russia and tried to see it in its proper historic perspective.

*Social Insurance.* By Percy Cohen. Columbia University Press. \$3.50. A history and description of the British system, with an introduction by the Right Honorable Neville Chamberlain.

*Impressions of South America.* By André Siegfried. Harcourt, Brace and Co. \$2.00. A series of literary flashlights, containing the usual distorted expressions, but touched at times by insight, and always interesting.

*Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution.* By Frederick Engels. International Publishers. \$1.50. A scholarly printing of the great work written in 1851, at Marx's request, for the New York Tribune. It has a fresh interest today in the light of recent events.



# What Is Behind the United Front

KIRBY PAGE

THE high degree of success achieved by the United States Congress Against War and the ambitious plans being made for state organizations to expand its activities make this an appropriate moment to take a look behind the scenes and see what we can see.

That the Congress Against War was initiated by Communists, and that a large proportion of the persons in attendance at the mass meetings and conference sessions were Communists or sympathizers with communism is admitted by all observers. Mr. Donald Henderson, a Communist, was secretary of the Congress and will undoubtedly play the leading part in its subsequent activities. The New York gathering was a direct outgrowth of the Amsterdam Congress held in August, 1932, which likewise was initiated and dominated by Communists. The Amsterdam meeting, in turn, was one of a long series of efforts on the part of Communists in various countries to secure a united front. Communist literature abounds with interpretations of the significance of the united front campaign, and the primary objective of this undertaking is set forth with the utmost frankness. There is no occasion for doubt concerning their purpose.

"The united front is not a peace pact with the reformists. *The united front is a method of struggle against the reformists, against the social-fascists, for the possession of the masses. . . . It is absolutely necessary to convince each worker in the Socialist Party, Musteites or A. F. of L., through his own contact, that the Communists are the only sincere, active and efficient fighters for unity in the struggle for their own daily needs . . . we have a tendency to neglect or slur over differences in principle between the Communists and the social-fascist leaders. We can never win the workers to a united front struggle, which means winning them away from the social-fascist influence, unless we meet squarely and explain sharply the basic differences between us and them.*" Thus writes Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, in the August, 1933, issue of the *Communist*, official organ of the party.

"The Socialists have not received the attention that they must receive," writes C. A. Hathaway, editor of the *Communist*. "We have to get down to bedrock in our fight against the Socialists and against the bourgeois demagogues. We are never going to be able to break the masses away from their influence if we continue to carry on our activity on the basis of just phrases. . . ."

The attitude reflected in these utterances by outstanding American Communists is wholly consistent with the policy of the Third International. Indeed, the Communist Party of this country is not a separate, autonomous party, but is a section of a single world-party of communism, the Communist International, and in every respect is under the complete control of the Comintern. For a dozen years efforts have been made in various countries to secure a united front. Here is the official pronouncement of 1921: "The Communist International openly announces to the millions of workers of the whole world that *there cannot be genuine working class unity without a struggle for the violent overthrow of the whole existing capitalist order, for the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. . . . The time will come when entire and now still powerful Social Democratic parties will collapse or, if they persist in their treachery, will burst like soap bubbles; and when whole strata of the social democratic workers will come over to us. The tactics of the united front further and . . . expedite this process.*" This frank avowal comes from the highest source.

THE latest issue of the *Communist* says: "We constantly warn American workers against illusions of pacifism spread by liberals and Socialists. . . . Our party equips the workers with the understanding that the struggle against the imperialist war must, in the event of war, *be turned at the opportune moment into civil war* for the overthrow of the war-breeding capitalist order." In his second volume on *Leninism*, Stalin lists the duties of the various Communist parties: "Firstly, to carry on an incessant struggle against Social-Democracy along every line, both economic and political, including the exposure of every form of pacifism, with the object of winning over the majority of the working class. . . . The most popular method of lulling the working class and diverting it from the struggle against the danger of war is present-day pacifism, with its League of Nations, the gospel of 'peace,' the 'outlawry' of war, the nonsense about 'disarmament,' and so forth. . . . And the most important thing in all this is the fact that Social-Democracy is the principal conveyor of imperialist pacifism among the working class, and is, therefore, the principal support of capitalism within the working class in the matter of preparation for new wars and for intervention." Thus we see that continuous efforts are being made by Communists to discredit the leadership of Socialist and pacifist movements.



The question now arises, in view of the relentless hostility of Communists toward Socialists and pacifists: Is it wise strategy for organizations of the latter to appoint official delegates to cooperate with Communists in a united front against imperialist war? Many non-Communist participants in the New York Congress are convinced that effective coöperation is possible. They point out that the Communist delegates showed great restraint and that no irreconcilable differences developed. *To be convincing, this argument needs to be supplemented by evidence that henceforth the Communist Party is ready to abandon its frequently-avowed determination to disrupt and destroy the Socialist Party and other "social-fascist" organizations.* Thus far I have searched in vain for such evidence. Surely it is not reasonable to attribute more weight to Communist good behavior in the New York Congress than to an enormous mass of testimony from the lips and pens of Communist officials during the past decade, including utterances from outstanding Communists of this country within the past few weeks.

Since the Communist Party of Great Britain is controlled by the same parent-body that controls the Communist Party of the United States, it may be illuminating to examine the record of British Communists with regard to the united front, especially their relations with the Independent Labor Party. The British Labor Party has concluded that there is little to gain and much to lose from an attempted united front with Communists and has therefore determined to proceed along its own lines. The I. L. P., however, after seceding from the British Labor Party, has been following a leftward course which has brought it close to the Communist position, so much so that some of its influential leaders have resigned on this account. Under the circumstances, it was natural that the I. L. P. should attempt a united front with the Communist Party and other radical groups. The Communist International has met these overtures with what appears to be deliberate contempt. Here is the Comintern's conception of the united front: "If the members of the Independent Labour Party are really developing in the direction of adopting our programme, then possibilities open up in Great Britain for the formation of a single, strong, mass Communist Party corresponding to the condition of the country. . . . If the Independent Labour Party energetically assists the struggle of the Communist International, this will be of great international significance. We request you to inform us whether your Party agrees to give precisely such support and assistance to the Communist International." The officials of the I. L. P. replied with counter-suggestions for common action. No response came from Moscow. Whereupon the I. L. P. requested the courtesy of an answer. After further delay the Com-

intern replied by accusing Fenner Brockway, formerly chairman and now secretary of the I. L. P., of "the worst kind of slander" and by suggesting that the I. L. P. affiliate with the Third International.

This latest expression of policy by the Third International contains certain sentences that are highly relevant to our discussion. In analyzing the composition of the I. L. P., the Comintern writes: "In short, many members of your party are revolutionaries, but many leaders are reformists. To be more exact, they are Left reformists. . . . 'We also want Socialism,' say the Left reformists, 'but by a pacifist technique of revolution.' In other words, this means we do not actually want revolution, which brings all kinds of dangers. . . . But the British bourgeoisie are emphatically against the fate of capitalism being decided by peaceful means. . . . Its policy is a bloody one, and its 'democracy' is shown up as class dictatorship. *Bourgeois class violence cannot be broken up by 'pacifist technique,' but only by the class violence of the proletariat.*"

**E**VEN if American Communists conclude that they can bore from within more effectively by a policy of restraint in relation to the Congress Against War, the evidence is cumulatively inescapable that they have not diminished one iota their ruthless determination to destroy Socialist and pacifist movements that stand in the way of their winning the workers to violent revolution and civil war. In view of the incontestable fact of this irreconcilable hostility of the Communist Party toward the Socialist Party, it appears to me to be the height of folly for the officials of the Socialist Party to attempt a united front which has no foundation of reality.

Nothing is to be gained by making a fetish of unity when there is no unity. Pacifists have had many unhappy experiences in vain endeavors to secure a united front with conservative peace agencies. The evidence is now conclusive that it is not practicable for cautious peace workers and radical pacifists to coöperate effectively in a united campaign against war. Vitality is more important than unity on a basis of compromise. A genuine unified front is likewise impossible between Communists and Socialists, between persons who seek to transform imperialist war into civil war and pacifists who have repudiated the war method in all its manifestations.

Let Communists exert themselves to the utmost limit against imperialist war, and let Socialists and other pacifists struggle unceasingly against all war. A satisfactory united front is not attainable. With utter frankness Communists say that the only really effective coöperation is armed action of the workers in civil war against capitalists. This is the objective behind the united front.



# Pacifism and the Class War

KIRBY PAGE

**D**ISCUSSION concerning the cleavage in the Fellowship of Reconciliation is regarded in many quarters as being theoretical and academic. The *Christian Century*, for example, says: "An analysis seems to disclose that the schism grows out of wholly hypothetical premises and is unrealistic in a high degree. The Fellowship, which was originally inspired by absolute opposition to war, has been led by progressive refinements in its thinking away from the concrete sources of its original unity into the realm of abstract creed-making. The process of creed-making was not better illustrated at Nicea or Westminster than by the New York members of the F.O.R. The actual situation has been eclipsed by a hypothetical situation as scholastic and remote from reality as was ever the theological debate over the trinity or original sin." These words reveal an almost complete lack of insight into the strategy of pacifism, and merely repeat the hoary argument that a resolute determination not to sanction or participate in any future war is unwise and futile.

There may be a rational basis for the argument that war resistance itself is futile, in which case it naturally follows that discussion of it constitutes a waste of time. But if there is any reason to believe that war-resistance possesses individual and social values, discussion and decision are not irrelevant but absolutely imperative if these values are to be realized. I can readily understand the point of view of persons who have concluded that hatred and violence and warfare are so securely enthroned in our disintegrating civilization that love and persuasion and pacifism are utterly impotent to resist the oncoming tides of international and civil war. But I am baffled when individuals who themselves reject the doctrine of the omnipotence of hatred and terror maintain that an attempt to phrase the decision of 90 per cent of Fellowship members to adhere to non-violence in the class war as well as in international war constitutes abstract creed-making and can only be described as "wholly hypothetical" and "unrealistic in a high degree." The editor of the *Christian Century* writes: "We are unable to subscribe to the dogma that the use of force is always wrong. Yet we are opposed to any conceivable form of international war." That is identically the position of a vast majority of the Fellowship: We are opposed to any conceivable form of industrial "war," as distinguished from "struggle" in which various types of non-military and non-warlike coercion are used. If it is rational and advisable for an individual to assert that he will never sanc-

tion or engage in international war, why is it hypothetical and abstract for him to maintain that he will never participate in civil war on the industrial front?

If the assertion is made that it is impossible for a person residing in a country caught in the throes of class war to avoid participation on one side or the other, the rejoinder is warranted that an individual is confronted with the same dilemma if he lives in a nation that is engaged in international war. If pacifism is valid in relation to international war, it is legitimate in relation to class war. The true pacifist in China today is not neutral. He is on the side of the victims of imperialist aggression, yet he refuses to sanction armed resistance and refrains from hatred of the Japanese. He cannot refrain from "taking sides" when justice is preponderantly on the side of the Chinese, but his participation will not take the form of military action, nor of incitations to enmity and revenge.

**L**IKEWISE, a true pacifist, it seems to me, cannot be neutral in the struggle between the classes. He must identify himself with the just aims of the victims of exploitation. Yet he must take sides without advocating or condoning hatred or warfare. And just as a pacifist must remain on the side of the Chinese even if they (mistakenly, as he sees it) resist military aggression with weapons of war, so a pacifist must adhere to the cause of the workers even if they commit the blunder of resisting the armed exploitation of the owning class with acts of warfare on their part. In his last campaign of non-violent non-coöperation, Mahatma Gandhi announced his determination to continue his program even if, against his wishes, some of his followers resorted to violence.

If it is legitimate to adhere to pacifism in time of international or civil war, it is surely valid to prepare in advance to maintain this attitude in time of crisis. If an individual waits until the moment of hostilities, when the air is black with clouds of poisonous propaganda and when elemental passions are inflamed, there is little likelihood that he will stand out against the mob. Effective war-resistance must be prepared for far in advance of the day of battle, and it must be organized so that the relative impotence of individual action may be transformed into the enormous power of mass resistance. And so it is in the area of class war; if the individual is to adhere to non-violence and non-hatred, he must discipline himself far in advance, and if he is to be effective, he must achieve solidarity with other pacifists.



In the following passage, the editor of the *Christian Century* is merely repeating the familiar argument that it is foolish for an individual to declare in advance that he will never sanction or participate in any war, because he cannot possibly foresee the actual situation with which he will be confronted: ". . . we shall all be compelled to face our duty when the day of wrath is upon us. . . . If and when that hope [of effecting adequate social change through orderly democratic procedure] must be abandoned we shall have to take our stand in the light of the best knowledge and guidance then available." If this policy is maintained by advocates of pacific revolution, it is wholly unlikely that any substantial proportion of them will adhere to non-violence in the day of wrath. Dr. Morrison's own experience should serve as a warning. Failure to discipline himself in the way of war-resistance in advance of the World War was in some measure responsible for his refusal to be a pacifist in that hour of testing.

IN his communication, published in the last issue of this journal, Mr. J. B. Matthews wrote: "The only thing that will divide us then . . . is a *functional* division of the work of revolution. . . . For those who contemplate, whether in five years or forty, such comradeship in a common cause, it is devastating that we should be divided. Divided by what? By a purely theoretical discussion of our revolutionary functions, and their moral values. This unfortunate division over moral abstractions aligns you in your decisions with the privileged idealists who hold *liberal* illusions regarding the possibilities of social change, and throws me, perhaps through the workings of an inevitable dialectical process, into an extreme I dislike on rational grounds." Mr. Matthews is correct in saying that he and I will both be on the side of the workers, but our attitudes and actions will not be the same. He will follow the course of the Chinese patriot who resists Japanese aggression by taking up arms and utilizing the passions as well as the weapons of warfare. Whereas the pacifist position is that of utter scepticism concerning the possibility of creating a decent social order by slaughter in battle, and of advocating a higher way of life even in the moment when passions are flaming most furiously. But equally important is the contrast in procedure prior to the day of revolution. The successful use of revolutionary violence is conditioned upon the training of the minds of revolutionaries and upon adequate armed preparation for the seizure of power. Non-warlike revolution can be achieved only by revolutionaries who are firmly convinced that it is attainable. So the difference in function is not merely the contrast between combatants and non-combatants in the hour of battle, but a fundamental divergence in strategy in the years prior to the revolution. Which strategy one relies upon will be determined by his attitude toward pacifism. A decision

to refrain from warlike action in some future day of revolutionary crisis, far from being theoretical and abstract, is therefore of the utmost practical significance in determining present attitudes and practices.

It follows naturally that if it is valid to maintain pacifism when other men are at battle, and if it is advisable and necessary to prepare to adhere to this position, then it is legitimate to form a Fellowship for the purpose of fortifying war-resisters and disciplining them for pacifist action in the hour of crisis.

### Releasing Spiritual Resources

*The Career and Significance of Jesus.* By Walter Bell Denny. Thomas Nelson and Sons. \$1.60.

*The Bible and the Quest of Life.* By Bruce Curry. Oxford University Press. \$1.75.

IT is a bold person who attempts to write a new book about the Bible. Yet the books continue to appear. When Koheleth wrote, "Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh," he could not foresee that his own words were to become part of a Book which would call forth the writing of endless books. Two of the best in recent years—most calculated to form a basis for studying the Bible *without* weariness of the flesh—are the volumes by Walter Bell Denny and Bruce Curry.

Professor Denny's *The Career and Significance of Jesus* is written primarily as a textbook, but can be read with interest and profit by anybody who wants to understand the message and times of Jesus. The book begins with an examination of the way the text of the Gospels came into being, enough of the results of historical research being included to clear the way for the reader without confusing him with intricate detail. The author then devotes about two-thirds of the book to the study of the career of Jesus as a religious leader, a Jewish patriot who struggled to save his people, by a religious ideal, from the results of their own pride and hate and the engulfing nationalism of the times. The last eleven chapters deal with the significance of Jesus in Christian thought. Here are considered such questions as Jesus' own personal religion and idea of God, his divinity, and his relations to historical Christianity and to modern civilization.

The book has the marks of good pedagogy, sound scholarship, and the union of a liberal viewpoint with a warm appreciation of religious values. The author is affirmative but not dogmatic, honest but not iconoclastic, and he shows a good understanding of the student mind. Persons already thoroughly familiar with the New Testament will find the book well worth reading for the freshness of its demonstration of the link between Jesus and his Jewish backgrounds, and for its portrayal of the conflict between nationalism and a higher patriotism—a conflict in which Christianity was born and has always lived. Biblical scholars will in general dissent from the author's view that Jesus was not an apocalypticist.

While Professor Denny's book will probably have its chief textbook use in college courses, Bruce Curry's *The Bible and the Quest of Life* will supply the study book for which many adult Bible classes have been waiting. The author attempts, and succeeds in, the ambitious task of taking the reader in 52 lessons through the entire Bible and making him think what it means in terms of modern problems. While much is necessarily omitted, a year's



# Starvation or Taxation

KIRBY PAGE

**S**TARVATION on an appalling scale in the United States this winter can be averted only by huge appropriations of public funds. The situation is far more desperate now than at any previous time. The decrease by two or three millions in the number of unemployed is more than offset by the diminishing resources at the disposal of millions of families under the cumulative pressure of four years' depression. The rising price level is not only placing a heavier financial burden upon relief agencies for the same quantity of assistance, but is driving to relief centers masses of unemployed who are no longer able to eke out a bare existence upon their meagre savings.

The drying up of the springs of private charity deserves emphatic emphasis. In recent months less than one dollar out of four expended on relief of the unemployed throughout the country has come from private gifts. National, state and local treasuries have been compelled to assume three-fourths of the burden, and the proportion of public to private funds available is certain to increase rapidly. In New York City, at the moment of most terrible need, the Gibson Committee has permanently disbanded. For three years this body has served as a clearing-house or community chest of private philanthropy in the field of relief for the unemployed. It has raised and expended many millions of dollars. Why is it now disbanding? For the simple reason that gifts from private sources for this purpose are no longer forthcoming in large aggregate sums. Mr. Gibson has announced that "mass relief for the unemployed now remains in the hands of governmental agencies, while the various private agencies will have to conduct their regular financing."

Two or three billion dollars at the very least are required if adequate relief is to be made available for destitute unemployed during the next twelve months. Fifteen million dollars per month is the minimum estimate of the need in New York City, as set by the Citizens' Committee on Relief and the Workers' Committee on Unemployment. From what sources are such vast sums to be derived? More than a thousand municipalities are now in default, according to an estimate of the National Municipal League. State governments are facing almost insurmountable financial obstacles.

Under the circumstances it is imperative that income taxes and inheritance taxes be utilized on a more drastic scale. Fortunately, the potential returns from these sources are vast beyond most persons' realization. During the past six years, if persons in the income class

\$25,000-and-above had been limited by graduated rates of taxation to \$20,000 each, if those in the class \$10,000-and-under-\$25,000 had been limited to \$10,000 each, and if those in the class \$5,000-and-under-\$10,000 had been limited to \$5,000 each, the yield in taxes would have been as follows:

1931.....	\$2,701,567,000
1930.....	4,564,743,000
1929.....	8,639,599,000
1928.....	8,878,600,000
1927.....	6,828,542,000
1926.....	6,205,834,000

\$37,818,885,000

This stupendous sum of more than 37 billion dollars does not reveal the full potentiality of income taxation because of the avoidance of such taxation through numerous devices perfected by clever lawyers, and by investments in tax-exempt securities. Mr. Evans Clark, in his monumental study of debt, estimates that "the volume of securities wholly exempt from the federal income tax has grown to 26 billion dollars. In addition, there are some 12 billion dollars of federal securities which are exempt from the normal tax only." At four per cent the interest on 26 billions exceeds a billion dollars, most of which is received by persons in the higher income brackets. The removal of the tax-exempt feature of these securities would substantially increase the yield of income taxation.

The inheritance tax likewise is an effective instrument. If society should decide that it is unwise to permit the passing on of more than \$100,000 to the heirs of the deceased, and should adjust rates accordingly, the yield would be immense. If during recent years the heirs of estates of \$100,000-and-under-\$200,000 had been limited to \$50,000, those of \$200,000-and-under-\$1,000,000 had been limited to \$75,000, and those of \$1,000,000-and-over had been limited to \$100,000, the amounts available for the Treasury would have been:

1931.....	\$2,590,000,000
1930.....	2,612,000,000

The returns for earlier years would have been substantially larger than for 1931 and 1930.

Thus it is apparent that if there had been no tax-exempt securities and if the drastic rates suggested above had been in force, the combined returns from income taxes and inheritance taxes in the six years from 1926 to 1931 would have exceeded 50 billion dollars.



# Headlines

## "Scab Shop" Makes Gompers Statue

A spontaneous strike against low wages at the plant of the General Bronze Corporation in Corona, New York suburb, according to Federated Press reports, has brought out the fact that the memorial to Samuel Gompers, long president of the American Federation of Labor, has just been completed in a scab shop. The memorial was finished in mid-September, and the company reports that it "has no agreement with any union."

## One Case of Many

Work on a big Cleveland sewer project has been halted as the result of revelations that workers were receiving only from 15 to 30 cents an hour, in violation of the NRA and the city charter, which provides that no contractor on a city job shall pay less than 50 cents an hour to his workers.

## Right to Live

"The right of a woman to live from the results of her labor whether industry is making money or not," is upheld in the principle underlying the Ontario minimum-wage law in the 1932 annual report of the Minimum Wage Board of that province.

## New Power Aid for West?

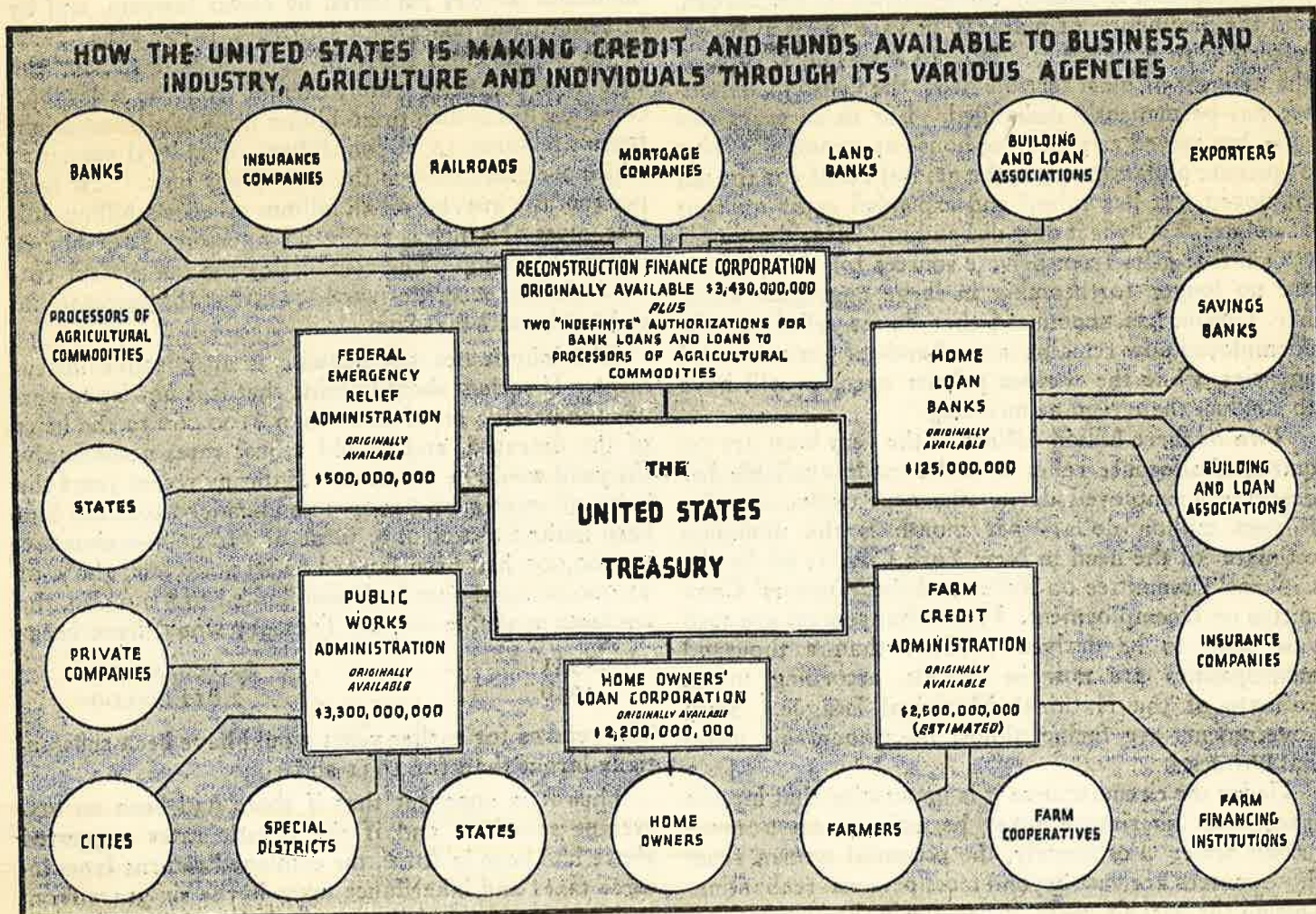
Senator McNary of Oregon returned recently to the capital and in a White House visit urged favorable consideration for two new public power projects affecting the people of Oregon and Washington. The first is a 72-foot dam in the Columbia River at Bonnierville Rapids, in place of the 30-foot dam proposed by the Public Works Administration. The second is a 12-million dollar plan for a dam at Rennie Rapids in the McKenzie River near Eugene, to enable that city to sell cheap power to 32 neighboring municipalities.

## Responsible for Clause 7A?

Credit for the insertion of the labor freedom clause, so-called, or 7A, in the National Industrial Recovery Act, is given by the Federated Press Washington Bureau to Dr. W. Jett Lauck, independent economist and labor advisor, and Dr. Harold G. Moulton, director of the Brookings Institution at Washington. The F. P. bases its assertion upon careful inquiry among officials who comprised the first advisory committee which presented the original draft of the Wagner bill to a White House conference last spring.

## Protesting California Sales Tax

The Socialist Party of San Francisco has been leading in the wave of protests against California's new sales tax, which Socialists castigate as "relieving the wealthy of their responsibility and putting the burden on those least able to bear it."



From a chart in the United States News.



# Why German Socialism Collapsed

KIRBY PAGE

THE all-important fact to keep constantly in mind is that Hitlerism was produced by the Treaty of Versailles, and except as a consequence of crushing defeat in war its emergence is scarcely conceivable. A proud and arrogant nation, with a glorious history and a marvelous record of achievement was savagely crushed by the overwhelming forces arrayed against it. The German losses in blood and treasure were unimaginably severe, and were rendered even more intolerable by the Carthaginian-like Treaty of Versailles. The economic burdens imposed by the victors were increased in weight ten-fold by emotional resentment and enmity. The disruptive consequences of the French invasion of the Ruhr, the catastrophic effects of the currency inflation which robbed German money of practically all its value, the appalling prospect of continuing reparation payments through two generations, the terrific repercussions of the world-wide economic crash, the tragedy of six million unemployed, and the cumulative evidence that this ghastly nightmare must be endured for decades to come—all this was more than human muscles and nerves could endure. The miracle is that the lid did not blow off years before.

Deepening resentment against the successive administrations in office during these awful days was inevitable. In every country prolonged "hard times" are the signal for a change of executives and legislators. The German situation was enormously complicated by the fact that the Republic was born during the last hours of the most terrible war of history, was suckled on adversity, limped as a distorted dwarf through the years of its youth, and perished from foul blows without ever enjoying a moment of health or sanity.

*So long as the Allies' policy of keeping Germany impotent was maintained, no administration in the Reich could succeed.* Through the superior medium of hindsight, many commentators have discovered that the Social Democrats committed an inexcusable blunder in not seizing power in 1919 and proceeding at once with the task of creating a workers' dictatorship. This thesis overlooks or minimizes the stubborn fact that Socialists and Communists, combined, never commanded a majority of the German people. There was a moment when together they controlled approximately half the votes in the Reichstag, *but their representatives were not elected on a platform of immediate seizure of power.*

The assertion is frequently made that the primary

cause of Hitler's success may be found in the failure of the German workers to present a united front, and no doubt there is much truth in this statement. But the evidence is clear that the only kind of united front that would have been supported by the German Communist Party was one that looked toward armed revolt for the purpose of establishing a proletarian dictatorship. German Communists were entirely dominated by Moscow and the Third International, and while the Russians were extremely reluctant to precipitate a crisis in Germany that would threaten the success of their own program at home, they were adamant against effective coöperation of a non-war-like character with the Social Democrats. This opposition is inherent in their basic philosophy and strategy. They look upon non-Communist liberals and radicals as enemies of the working class, to be fought as ruthlessly as they fight capitalists.

"THE point of departure of the German Communist Party," writes Leon Trotsky, "was that there is nothing but a mere division of labor between the social democracy and fascism, that their interests are similar if not identical. Instead of helping to aggravate the discord between communism's principal political adversary and its mortal foe—for which it would have been sufficient to proclaim the truth aloud instead of violating it—the Communist International convinced the reformists and the fascists that they were twins, it predicted their conciliation, embittered and repulsed the Social Democratic workers and consolidated their reformist leaders. . . . It displayed persistency and perseverance only in sabotaging the united front, from above as well as from below. . . . The fundamental principle of the Communist International was: *a united front with the reformist leaders cannot be permitted!* Then, at the most critical hour, the Central Committee of the German Communist Party, without explanation or preparation, appealed to the leaders of the social democracy, proposing the united front as an ultimatum: today or never! . . . After the inevitable failure of an attempt at compromise, the Communist International ordered that the appeal be ignored and the very idea of a united front was once more proclaimed counter-revolutionary."

Ever since the success of the Russian revolution and the formation of the Third International, Communists in all countries have carried on an unrelenting warfare against Socialists, and so long as this



# Headlines

## Trenton Negroes to Swim

The Supreme Court of New Jersey has ordered the Trenton Board of Education to permit Negro students to use the swimming pool at the Central High School on the same terms as white students, reports the *Crisis*.

## Picketing the Munitions Czars

Further adventures in the campaign to picket the factories of ammunition makers and to interview, when possible, their managers or owners, are reported by Elsa Tudor, who, with her friend Mrs. Murray, has already stirred public comment by a vigorous crusade. From John Harrington, one of the owners of the Harrington and Richardson Arms Company of Worcester, Massachusetts, the picketers received a disagreeable welcome. "Wars have always been and always will be," was the excuse given for manufacture of the materials of human slaughter. It was intimated that the women must be getting money from Moscow. Only four signatures were obtained to an anti-war petition among this firm's employees, a fact which may be accounted for by the threat of the owner, in his men's hearing, that he would fire any man signing it.

## Continental Congress Secretary

The Executive Committee of the Continental Congress of Workers and Farmers has secured the services of Dan R. Donovan, well known New England trade unionist, in the capacity of field secretary. This is in line with the decision of the Congress executive to throw the full weight of its federated strength of trade unions, unemployed organizations, farmers and coöperative groups, labor, fraternal and political organizations, behind the drive of American trade unions to organize under the N.R.A. the masses hitherto unorganized.

## Wholesale Coöps Does Well

The coöperative movement in the northern states is weathering the depression much better than did the movement during the post-war deflation, to judge from reports and figures in the Central Coöperative Wholesale Yearbook for 1933, as analyzed by the Federated Press. This volume, published by the Wholesale at Box 557, Superior, Wisconsin, shows that although some of the coöperative retail stores were hard hit by the reduction in buying power, they centralized their orders through the Wholesale and got better terms. Total Wholesale sales in 1932 were \$1,310,000 with a net gain of \$9,000 at a time when the big capitalist chains were showing losses.

## Labor Gains in Belgium

Official reports by the Belgian Labor Party submitted at its recent conference at Brussels revealed a gain during 1932 from 559,085 members to 568,191. The report also indicates that in most of the elections occurring, there was an increased vote for socialism.

## Lèse Majesté

Rev. Alva J. Shaller, liberal minister of the influential Unitarian church in San José, California, has been dismissed by his board of directors following his protests against police treatment of strikers. Shaller objected to the rough handling of cherry pickers on strike for a living wage and his summary dismissal without notice followed. He is a Harvard graduate and had been pastor of the church for three years.

## Dr. McDowell Uses Straight Words

Dr. John McDowell, moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, recently speaking at the Institute of Public Affairs at Charlottesville, Virginia, declared that our age is one of "pagan economics". "It is idle," he asserted, "to talk of the Kingdom of God, of an ideal social order in which the Divine Will is realized, while the essentially pagan economic system exists."

## Annulment Recommended

In a recent letter to the New York *Times*, Senator Pittman said: "The Monroe Doctrine no longer serves a good purpose. On the contrary, this ancient doctrine is still a source of annoyance in many parts of Central and South America, with whose people we are on the friendliest relations. Annulment of the Monroe Doctrine would stimulate the friendship that already exists and be to the mutual benefit of both continents."

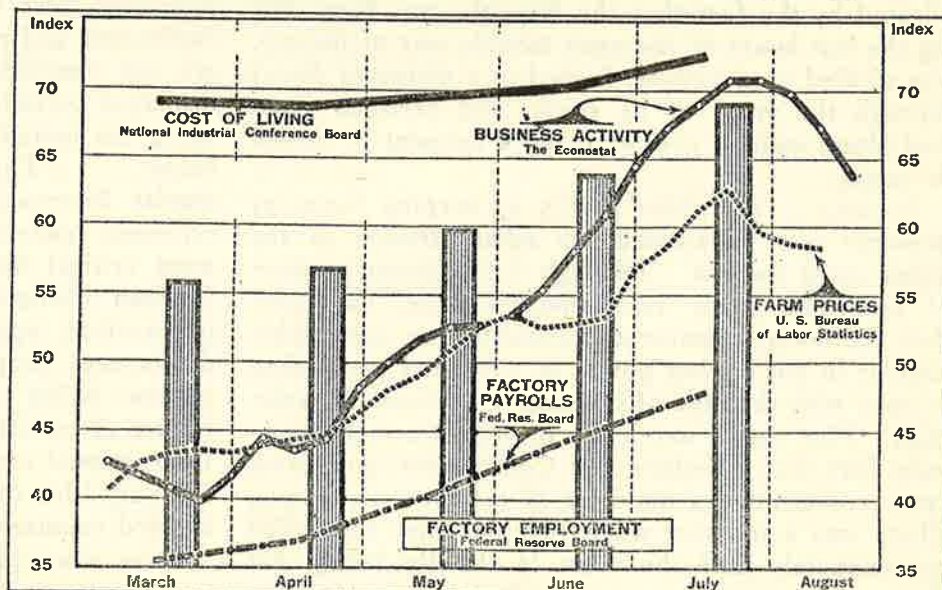
## Bank Buildings for Sale

Representative Mead, chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices, recently forwarded a communication to General Johnson and Secretary Ickes, suggesting that the Government purchase closed bank buildings in communities that do not now have publicly-owned post office buildings.

## Children and the American Dole

The Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor estimates that "today somewhere in the neighborhood of one-fifth of all preschool and school children in the United States are showing the effects of poor nutrition, of inadequate housing, of lack of medical care, and in many cases the effect of the anxiety and the sense of insecurity that prevails wherever there is no work."

## Health Chart of the Nation Under the New Deal



(All items have been converted to a common base representing percentages of a 1926 average of 100.)

—From News-Week.



policy is maintained it is absurd to expect unity among radicals.

Moreover, there is no basis for the belief that even a united front in Germany would have made possible the violent seizure of power. On the contrary, the evidence seems conclusive that the workers would have been ruthlessly suppressed by counter-revolutionaries and foreign invaders. In this connection, it is significant that, following the tragic collapse of the radical movement in Germany, Fritz Hackert, an important member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, wrote: "It is therefore clear that with the then relation of class forces, the German Communists could not raise the question of the seizure of power for the proletariat. We German Communists had not, as had the Russian Bolsheviks in October, 1917, an overwhelming majority of the toilers, but we had not even a majority of the proletariat, on our side. A substantial part of the peasantry and the urban petty-bourgeoisie have not yet overcome their illusions with regard to nationalism. The entire armed forces of the Reichswehr, the police, the Stahlhelm, the Storm Troops, were drawn up against the unarmed proletariat. The Russian Bolsheviks, however, had on their side, as is well known, not only armed workers, but also a substantial part of the army, and enjoyed the benevolent neutrality of another part of the army. This position of the class forces determined the temporary defeat of the proletariat." Exactly so! And at no time was there a chance for a successful proletarian seizure of power in Germany. After fifteen years of living hell the German people were so utterly opposed to a proletarian dictatorship that the Communist Party, in spite of its six million supporters, proved absolutely impotent at the moment when conditions were most favorable for the seizure of power.

**E**QUALLY significant is the further fact that, even if the revolutionaries had temporarily established a workers' government, nationalizing land, socializing industry, and inaugurating a Red terror against counter-revolutionaries, *France and her allies would have wrecked the revolutionary regime in an utterly savage manner.* To maintain otherwise is to forget that, with far less reason, Allied troops invaded the Soviet Union and attempted to overthrow the Leninists. No revolutionary government in Germany at that time could have observed the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and continued reparation payments, and there is not a scintilla of reason to doubt that upon rejection of the Treaty, French troops would have occupied Berlin and utterly routed the revolutionaries.

A radical government in Germany, moreover, would have been confronted with the economic hostility of

capitalist powers, with catastrophic effects upon the standard of living of German people. It must not be forgotten that foreign loans have played an extremely important part in maintaining German industry in the post-war years. The shutting off of these loans and the crippling of Germany's foreign commerce would have produced unemployment and hunger on an appalling scale. The utterly different attitude of capitalist nations toward the revolution in Italy from that toward the revolution in Russia reveals clearly what their policy would have been toward a radical German government. The stake of foreign financiers and industrialists was far heavier in Germany than in Russia, and their efforts to overthrow a revolutionary regime in the former country would have been much more determined and ruthless than their intervention in the land of the Bolsheviks. *There is absolutely no reason, therefore, to believe that the German workers would have been able to resist counter-revolutionaries at home, plus armed intervention from France, plus economic attacks from capitalist nations.*

**I**T is high time, therefore, for foreigners to cease reproaching German radicals for failing to seize power. Far more appropriate and realistic would be a relentless indictment of the peoples and governments of the Allied countries for imposing and maintaining the barbarous Treaty of Versailles. The labor movements of Great Britain, France, and the United States cannot evade terrible responsibility for the disasters which have befallen their German comrades. The blindness and inactivity of the liberal and radical forces in the Allied countries impaled the German labor movement upon cruel horns and offered it no opportunity of escape from the dilemma.

To avoid utter ruin at the hands of France, German workers were compelled to submit to the Treaty of Versailles and to continue reparation payments; and in order to safeguard the infant Republic against the plots of monarchists, they felt obliged to collaborate with the parties of the center. There is every reason to believe that the Republic could not have been preserved without the vigorous support of the Social Democrats. It is easy to say at this distance and at this late hour that the German radicals paid too heavy a price for support of the Weimar Constitution; but to millions of Germans the restoration of the Hohenzollerns was an appalling prospect, to be prevented at almost any cost.

All this is not to say that the Social Democrats committed no blunders. It is tragically true that they ceased to be a party of radical socialism and became satisfied with the crumbs of reform. Much of their strength was derived from the trade unions, whose leaders were sobered by responsibility and made timid through concern for vested interests of their organi-



zations. Like most other officials, the leaders of the Social Democrats vastly overrated the significance of being returned to office at the next election, and consequently tempered their radicalism to the point where their program did not differ fundamentally from those of the liberal parties. Their super-reliance upon parliamentary action, their failure to wage the struggle more vigorously on the economic front, and their policy of excessive compromise with capitalism, cost them the allegiance of many hundreds of thousands of the younger and more virile workers, who in despair turned to communism.

We may recognize the blunders committed by the Social Democrats and still find it easy to appreciate the terrible predicament in which they found themselves. Their abhorrence of monarchy, their fear of invasion from France, and the inherent complexities and uncertainties of the situation confronting them made any other course than one of caution and compromise difficult to follow. The harder they struggled

to preserve the gains of Weimar, the more they became the scapegoat of Germany's miseries, and the more bitter the denunciation heaped upon them by all enemies of the Versailles Treaty and of the Republic. No German administration could observe the provisions of the treaty and escape the passionate resentment of its victims, and no German administration could fail to acknowledge the validity of the treaty without running grave risk of being overturned by French arms.

The downfall of the Social Democrats was due in part to their own blunders, but far more it was caused by titanic forces beyond their control. Granted the totality of the situation, there was small possibility of establishing an enduring workers' government, Socialist or Communist, and little likelihood that the radical parties could save themselves from being buried under the wreckage of the Republic, which was made almost inevitable by the blind and vindictive policy of the Allies.

## Culture in a Mill Village

FLOYD TILLERY

**F**AIRFAX is the name of a Southern cotton mill village, with a population of about 2,000, located in the valley of the Chattahoochee River, 100 miles from Atlanta. During the 1932 commencement season the Fairfax High School awarded diplomas to 28 seniors—diplomas declaring that John Smith and Mary Jones knew much about quadratic equations, catalytic agencies, the law of falling bodies, irregular French verbs and the Spenserian stanza. Of the number graduated, two entered college the following September—seven per cent of the graduating class. The fortunate ones were sons of two of the bosses. The other 26 graduates—those who did not go to college, who could not go to college, who never once expected to go to college—are either working today in the cotton mill, or waiting eagerly for the depression to lift so that they may begin working there. Yesterday mastering the binomial theorem; today filling bobbins in the spinning room.

I happen to be a member of the faculty of Fairfax High School. My principal subject is English. Soon after I began working in this school, three years ago, I learned that the majority of the 25 pupils in the senior class knew no more English than a fourth grade pupil is supposed to know. In due time I persuaded most of my charges to start again at the beginning and try to learn something. Thus I spent the major portion of my first year trying to

teach them to speak and to write simple English clearly, directly, and fairly correctly. Along with this went a continual effort to stimulate their minds into some kind of activity, that they might perhaps wake up, take notice, and 'bout-face.

The next year, in a small way, I began trying to interest them in the story of literature and its messages. Laying aside the study of *Paradise Lost*, *The De Coverley Papers* and *Travels With a Donkey*, I was able to capture their attention with discussions of such men as Bacon, Milton, Byron, Emerson and Walt Whitman. I soon found that I had been able to start a considerable number to thinking. As the days went by, Walt Whitman's *Prophecy of a New Era*, Emerson's *Self-Reliance*, Milton's *Freedom of the Mind*, Bacon's *Theory of Learning* and Byron's *Fight for Liberty* came to be familiar classroom topics. I was well pleased, of course; but I kept wondering if anything would ever happen, and what, and when. I kept waiting.

In addition to my classes in English I was also assigned a course styled "Problems in American Democracy." I was amazed every time this class met for recitation. These boys and girls had no background of American history, no conception of what is meant by a democracy, no understanding of the aims and ideals of our government. Some wrote it "Silver War"; some associated Lincoln with the Revolution



# What About That Postal Deficit?

KIRBY PAGE

**T**HE total deficit incurred during the past six years by the United States Post Office Department is just under 599 million dollars. During the single fiscal year which ended June 30, 1932, the deficit exceeded 205 millions. These figures are being widely interpreted as a damning indictment of government operation, and this evidence seems to uphold the general idea that the post office is riddled with inefficiency and entwined with red tape. But this explanation is merely another illustration of the gullibility of the public in swallowing propaganda against government enterprises.

During the same six years the gain on first-class mail was 408 millions. The loss on second-class mail during this period, however, was in excess of 550 millions, as compared with the total deficit of 599 millions. Why should there have been such a heavy loss in this department? The answer is filled with social significance. Second-class mail, let it be remembered, is made up chiefly of newspapers and periodicals. The political influence of the press is so enormous that the rates on second-class mail are absurdly low. In the annual report of the Postmaster General for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1932 (page 101) we are informed that whereas the actual cost of transporting second-class mail averages nearly 10 cents per pound (9.81), the revenue received is less than two cents (1.81). This means that the government loses eight cents per pound on second-class mail, and that publishers pay less than one-fifth of the cost of delivering their newspapers and magazines.

The loss on official mail, material franked by Congressmen, and other free mail was about 58 millions for the six years. Thus we observe that *the combined loss on second-class mail and free mail approximated 608 millions, or nine millions more than the total postal deficit for this period.*

There are doubtless satisfactory reasons for putting official and certain other types on the free list, but the deficit thus produced should not be made use of as an argument against government operation. It is also probable that the arguments in favor of cheap rates on second-class mail outweigh those on the other side. As far back as 1878, Postmaster General Key said: "I think it may be taken as settled by Congress that regular, legitimate, printed periodicals issued at stated intervals from a known office of publication, shall pass through the mails at less than the cost of their transportation." Indeed, in 1851 Congress ordered that weekly newspapers be carried through the mail to sub-

scribers within the county of publication without any postage charge, as Congressman Clyde Kelly reminds us in his study of *United States Postal Policy*. This free-in-county privilege still applies to all offices where there is no delivery system in operation. It is certainly legitimate to regard the post office as an important element in the educational system of the nation and to set the postal rates on periodicals at less than the cost of transportation, but surely it is grossly unfair to cite the consequent deficit as proof that government operation is inefficient and wasteful.

Moreover, a substantial portion of the deficit during the past three years has been due to the loss on subsidized mail. The loss on air mail, plus the differential paid for transporting mail on American vessels—official support of the American merchant marine—amounted to 42 millions in 1932, 36 millions in 1931, and 28 millions in 1930. Thus we see that the combined loss on second-class mail, free mail, and subsidized mail was as follows: 1932, 155 millions; 1931, 145 millions; 1930, 129 millions—429 millions for the three years, as compared with the total postal deficit of 450 millions for this period.

Figures for the years earlier than 1927 are even more favorable to the postal service, as may be seen from this summary:

Year	Total Postal Deficit
1926.....	\$19,972,379
1925.....	39,745,027
1924.....	14,463,976
1923.....	24,065,204
1922.....	60,815,400
1921.....	157,517,688
1920.....	17,270,483
1919.....	73,734,852 Gain
1918.....	64,126,774 Gain
1917.....	9,836,212 Gain
1916.....	5,829,236 Gain
1915.....	11,333,309
1914.....	4,376,463 Gain
1913.....	4,510,651 Gain
1912.....	1,785,523
1911.....	219,118 Gain
1910.....	5,881,482



# Headlines

## Six Trillions

In discussing inflation, a recent number of the *Bulletin* of the National City Bank reminds its readers that at the peak of German inflation in 1923 one American dollar would buy six trillion, 666 billion marks.

## To Picket Landlords

Taking issue with New York City's Corporation Counsel Hilly, who has issued a ruling that "peaceful picketing in rent strikes is criminal," Socialist leader Norman Thomas, in a letter to Hilly, declared such a decision would make it illegal for consumers to organize and picket public utilities whose rates are exorbitant. There is no difference, in effect, between rent strikes and labor disputes, Thomas said. He praised rent strikes for having prevented evictions.

## Legion Against Tax Exemption

From the *Congressional Record* we learn that the American Legion of the Department of the District of Columbia has passed a resolution endorsing Senator Ashurst's proposed amendment to the Constitution abolishing exemption from taxation on government securities.

## What the Better Half Reads

A survey among 1,362 women in Chicago, summarized in the *News Bulletin* of the School of Business of the University of Chicago, reveals that 78 per cent of these women read the feature cartoon, 60 per cent the best comic strip, 35 per cent the articles on beauty, 18 per cent the editorials, 17 per cent the articles on music and drama, and 16 per cent the book reviews.

## Coöperative Jobless Colonies

General Manager George T. Pickett of Llano Coöperative Colony announces he will take to Washington a resolution to form coöperative colonies of the unemployed on a national scale under government auspices. Instead of giving the jobless humiliating charity or packing them into military work camps, the resolution would enable the unemployed to become self-supporting on colonies producing for use, not for profit. Under terms of the resolution, which was prepared by residents of Llano Coöperative Colony, the unemployed would work in these colonies only as many hours as necessary to produce their needs. The national organization of colonies, to be called the United Communities, would be headed by nine persons appointed by the President. Pickett hopes to have the bill introduced in Congress.

## Respectable Deception

After having proceeded with the printing of 26 million dollars in scrip in defiance of Washington's orders to wait on the new currency, the Detroit Clearing House Association repented, and in explaining its reversal of policy concocted a story to the effect that scrip would not be issued because "counterfeiting had been discovered." In commenting upon the episode, *Business Week* says that "the bankers found themselves in an embarrassing spot, and tried to extricate themselves by devising the counterfeiting yarn themselves. This was all admitted when the facts came to light."

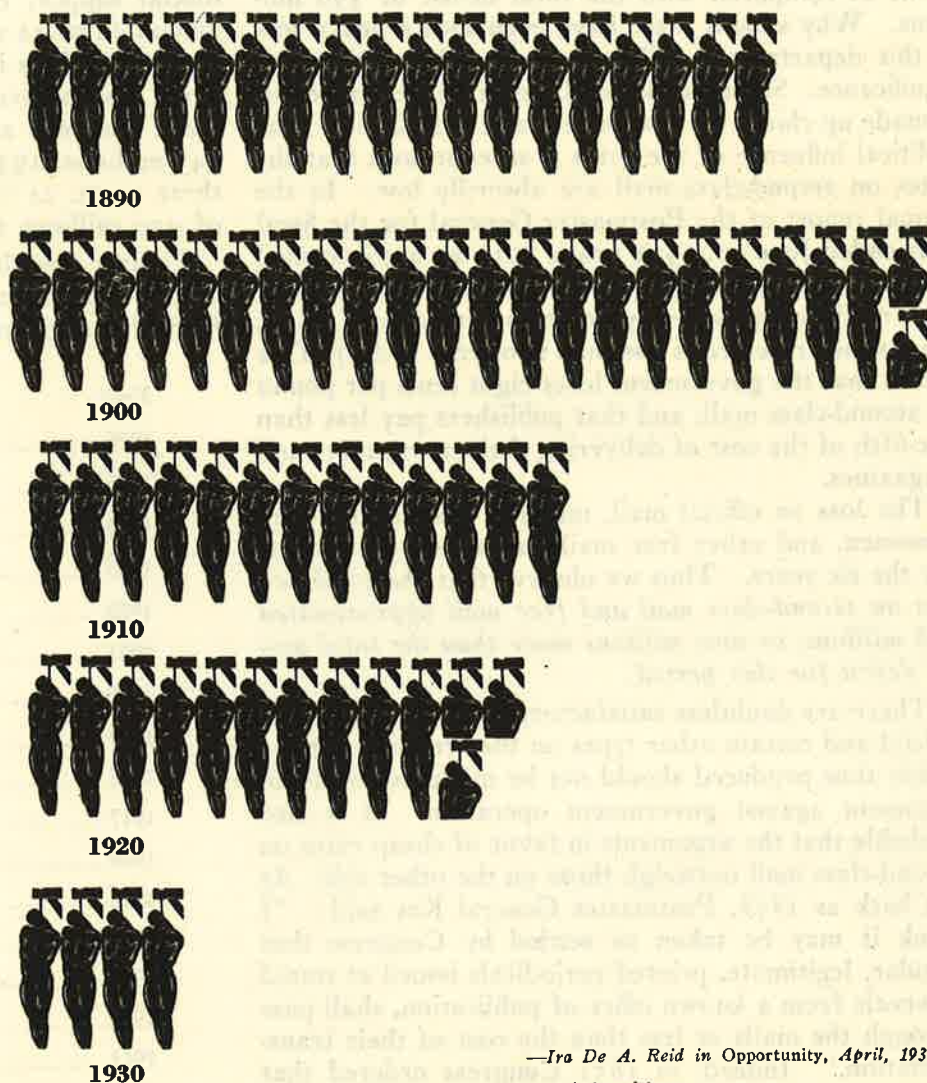
## 400 Out of 700,000

More than 700,000 stockholders were eligible to attend the recent annual meeting of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and about 400 put in their appearance.

## Minimum Wage Gains

The Wald bill, creating a mandatory system of minimum wages for women and minors in industry, was passed by the New York State Senate by a vote of 37 to 13. The bill provides jail penalties for employers who violate wage scales set up by the State Department of Labor.

## Lynchings of Negroes in the United States 1890-1930



—Ira De A. Reid in *Opportunity*, April, 1933

Each full figure represents 5 lynchings.  
Each half figure represents 1 lynching.



Year	Total Postal Deficit
1909.....	17,479,770
1908.....	16,910,279
1907.....	6,692,031
1906.....	10,542,942
1905.....	14,594,387
1904.....	8,812,769
1903.....	4,586,977
1902.....	2,961,170
1901.....	3,981,521
1900.....	5,410,358

THE whole story has been summarized by Congressman Clyde Kelly in these words: "During the entire history of the service under the Constitution, from 1789 up to and including 1930, the entire excess of reported expenditures over receipts has amounted to \$731,000,000. For each of these 142 years there has been an average expenditure for free and non-postal activities, such as subsidies, amounting to \$6,000,000, or a total of \$852,000,000."

Thus the myth that the postal deficit is due to inefficiency is utterly exploded, and its repetition should be a source of embarrassment to an informed person.

The literal truth is that the postal service is amazingly efficient. Tested by reliability, speed, and economy it ranks high among national institutions. Let the reader recall his own experience with regard to the safety of letters and packages entrusted to the mail, and concerning the speed of delivery. To those who harbor doubts we commend a booklet of 69 pages prepared by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics entitled *Technological Changes and Employment in the United States Postal Service*, obtainable from the Government Printing Office in Washington. Of the more than 26 billion pieces of mail handled annually, the percentage lost is infinitesimal; an astonishing per-

formance in view of the fact that there are 48,159 post offices in this country, and 41,602 rural routes with a total mileage of 1,358,032. The total number of regular postal employees exceeds 250,000, while 60,000 others receive part-time employment.

From the lips of America's most eminent individualist come words of high praise for this vast collectivist enterprise. In an address on September 26, 1932, at the laying of the corner-stone of the new Post Office Department Building in Washington, President Hoover said: "Since those early days the Postal Service has been a factor second to no other in the up-building and development of modern America. It has constantly enlarged and broadened its facilities and has steadily grown in usefulness. Today it threads through the daily social and business life of all our people, and extends its benefits to every city, hamlet, and fireside in the land. It furnishes quick communication for business and industry, transports the products of the farm to the city dweller, brings the goods of the manufacturer and the merchant to the farmer's gate, delivers newspapers, magazines, and books into the remotest homes, provides a safe means for transmitting money and valuables, carries messages of gladness and sorrow between families and friends, and makes neighbors of our most widely separated communities. The Post Office establishment is not a machine; it is a living service to thousands of skillful and devoted men and women."

And let the fact be noted that it is operated without resort to the profit motive which capitalism regards as imperative. Salaries and wages are paid, of course, but the entire postal system functions on a non-profit basis, with only a few highly-paid officials, and even these public servants receive only a fraction of the income they would receive for similar services from private corporations. No dollar expended by the citizen at large brings a more generous return than the dollar expended through the socialist post office.

#### RECENT FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

Year Ended June 30	Total Deficit	Gain on First-class <sup>1</sup>	Loss on Second-class	Loss on Third-class	Loss on Fourth-class	Loss on Free Mail <sup>2</sup>	Loss on Subsidized Mail <sup>3</sup>
1932.....	\$205,550,611	\$33,612,109	\$102,144,291	\$28,909,363	\$32,716,267	\$11,052,212	\$42,252,210
1931.....	146,066,190	58,289,028	96,674,618	23,388,895	20,031,600	11,968,333	36,078,976
1930.....	98,215,987	80,809,704	89,701,838	21,502,048	15,570,731	11,037,152	28,218,181
1929.....	85,461,176	78,633,418	94,001,198	18,806,911	19,778,707	9,931,240	.....
1928.....	32,121,096	83,174,429	84,022,703	4,315,268	4,479,586	6,816,286	.....
1927.....	31,506,201	73,768,786	83,498,229	1,763,768	2,959,733	7,182,994	.....
	\$598,921,261	\$408,287,474	\$550,042,877	\$98,686,253	\$95,536,624	\$57,988,217	

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of Air Mail.

<sup>2</sup> Including free mail for the blind, etc., and certain differentials in favor of religious and educational organizations.

<sup>3</sup> Air Mail and excess cost of carrying ocean mail on American ships.





# The Book End

*With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

## The Unity of Believers

*Treasure-House of the Living Religions.* Compiled and edited by Robert Ernest Hume. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.00.

HERE is a truly remarkable book, and it is doubtful whether anyone but Professor Hume could have produced it. It contains, in orderly form, topically arranged and indexed, the devotional gems of the eleven major religions of the world. More than three thousand quotations are gathered here, selected from 134 documents, written originally in 16 Oriental languages. To produce this volume many translations had to be made, and 106,423 pages of sacred writings had to be carefully examined. Professor Hume is a professed Christian, but his point of view is universal in its outreach; and his sympathetic insight, supplementing his great erudition, makes it possible for him to understand and appreciate, and feel a measure of "at-homeness" in, any of the religions here treated. Says he: "... the progress of the world needs authoritative doctrines which are lofty and universal, rather than limited, primitive and particularistic. Accordingly, this book offers from among the finest teachings of the historic living religions only those ideals which are actually taught in the canon of sacred scriptures, recognized as authoritative by all adherents of each religion, and which may well be accepted by all mankind." And again, "these selections, veritable treasures dug from the rich and deep deposits of the world's religious knowledge, are here made available, according to a systematic plan, for persons who seek information and inspiration."

Four main divisions comprise the contents of this anthology: (1) Faith in the Perfect God; (2) Man and His Perfecting; (3) Man and His Social Relations; (4) A Program of Joint Worship. Under these headings are 51 subdivisions such as: The One Supreme God, The Divine Omnipresence and Inner Presence, Adoration and Praise, Sin and Evil, Future Life and Immortality, The Perfect Man, Self-Examination and Self-Control, Fearlessness and Courage, Wealth and Prosperity, The Golden Rule, Love, Friendship and Brotherhood, and other subjects familiar to readers of devotional literature. The Program of Joint Worship is arranged as a responsive reading, and emphasizes the common denominator of all religions.

Each topic in the book is the theme of a separate chapter and is enhanced by a series of quotations from the various religions. The last 193 pages of the book are devoted to reference notes, bibliography and source material, and a topical index, making it equally valuable to the scholar and to the general reader.

Here, then, is the quintessence of the religious wisdom of the world, an anthology of the devotional and inspirational literature of all the living religions, setting forth the traditional aspirations that they have in common. It is a reference book worthy of a place in any library, and one from which a wise minister can secure a wealth of "morning lesson" material to enrich his own

order of services. Professor Hume's *Treasure-House* is as magnificent and praiseworthy as it is stupendous.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER

## Through Liberal Eyes

*The United States in World Affairs, An Account of American Foreign Relations, 1932.* Prepared by Walter Lippmann. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper and Brothers. \$3.00.

COMPREHENSIVE in scope, authoritative in treatment, and lucid in style, this volume is a valuable commentary on the foreign entanglements of America during 1932. The fatal deadlock between the White House and Congress is illuminatingly interpreted and shown to be a primary factor in hastening the economic debacle. Through several chapters the foundation is laid for an understanding of the tangled controversy between debtor and creditor nations. The Lausanne settlement and its aftermath are described, and the whole war debt quarrel brought up to date. Other significant chapters deal with Rising Tariff Barriers, Reduction and Limitation of Armaments, Disturbances in Latin America, Shanghai and Manchuria. A comprehensive bibliography is furnished, and 74 pages are devoted to nine appendices presenting useful documentary and factual data.

If you desire a liberal—not a pacifist or radical—interpretation of American foreign policy during 1932, this is the volume you are seeking.

K. P.

## The Rebellion of Eternity

*Barabbas.* By Sara Bard Field. Albert and Charles Boni. \$2.50.

THE blasé reviewer is often led into temptation by books of contemporary American poetry, and, yielding to evil, exclaims in the words of Mark Twain's classic definition of life: "Just one damn thing after another!"

*Barabbas* is different. Here is the clash and collapse of ending ages, the tension of time with eternity, the vision of vast tragic vistas of history, yet no pedant's heaviness, no smart, clicking sophistication of megalopolitan journalists in the winter of the West, no fatigued, easy, futilitarian reduction of life to a soul that lies a-mouldering in the grave while the body goes maching zigzag on. As substance, *Barabbas* is epic. Sara Bard Field steps inside the heroic center of flame that is the Jewish spirit. Barabbas, the man, is the word become deed, the prophet turned living sword: he is that last thing the modern spirit usually is able to create—a hero. As rebel, as tiger-soul, as Bolshevik at large against Rome, he is admirable as a character, and he convinces. The subtler drama of the book, also—the clash of arms-and-the-man against the man whose arms are the spirit, the clash



# Can Socialists and Communists Unite?

KIRBY PAGE

THE seizure of power by the Nazis in Germany has been followed by an avalanche of criticism of the strategy of the Social Democrats and by a widespread demand for a united front on the part of Socialists and Communists in all countries. In February seven Socialist parties of the Left appealed to the Third (Communist) International and the Second (Socialist) International to unite for action against reactionaries, and on March 6 the Communist International published a manifesto instructing its adherents throughout the world to arrange a joint program with Socialist and Labor parties against fascism. At the moment of writing, the Second International has not reached a final decision, but is still engaged in negotiations. The Socialist Party of the United States has not yet determined its procedure. The British Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the British Trades Union Congress have combined in rejecting the proposal of a united front with the Communists in Great Britain.

A natural conclusion for persons who are sickened by the fascists' cruel exploitation of the workers is that all progressives and radicals should put shoulder to shoulder in resisting this tyranny. And while there are areas in which such coöperation is imperative, it is of the utmost importance for pacifists and Socialists to recognize that there are limits beyond which they cannot go without being engulfed by the Communist strategy of violent class war. Socialists and Communists alike should seek vigorously to expose the irrationalities, inefficiencies, and immoralities of the capitalist system, and to undermine confidence in the competitive struggle for private profit. They should endeavor to maintain freedom of speech, assembly and press, and should rally to the assistance of persons who have been denied civil liberties. They should oppose armed preparedness, provocative national policies, and imperialistic adventures, and should organize a powerful block of war resisters for immediate action when war threatens.

With regard to organizing the workers, and especially the unemployed workers, the question should be faced squarely: Organization for what? The Communist answer is clear and unequivocal: organize for the violent seizure of power, the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, and the maintenance of that dictatorship for an indefinite period by whatever degree of terror is required. It cannot be repeated too often that the Communist method is the military method, directed against class enemies rather than national foes. There should be no confusion at this

point. So far as ultimate objectives are concerned, a united front with Communists means common action in civil war against the owning class.

ON April 9 *Pravda* published an appeal by the Communist International calling upon the German Communist Party to warn the masses that "Hitler's government is leading the country to catastrophe, and the only possibility for the laboring class to prevent their further impoverishment and misery is through a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat." The manifesto further urged a united front between Social Democrats and Communists so as "to prepare the masses for decisive revolutionary battles and to overthrow capitalism and fascist dictatorship by means of an armed revolt."

Further evidence as to what is meant by a united front is found in the *Communist*, an official publication of the Communist Party of the United States, for April. In commenting upon the appeal of the Comintern for joint action on the part of Social Democrats and other Socialists, on the one hand, and Communists, on the other, this American journal speaks contemptuously of the groups expected to join in a united front:

How correct are the words of Comrade Stalin that "social democracy is the moderate wing of fascism". . . . Without the aid of the German Social Democracy and its policy of capitulation to the German bourgeoisie, fascism would have never been possible in Germany. Their traitorous betrayals of the German masses from the first day of the World War until the present demonstrates the complete bankruptcy of the policy of the Social Democracy. . . . The Communist International is not yet convinced that today the Second International is sincere in its proposals. . . . It remains the chief force in the working class which disorganizes, demoralizes and prevents the consolidation of the forces of revolution.

The traitorous Socialists are completely bankrupt and insincere, yet they are expected to coöperate! Upon what platform are they to stand? That of the violent seizure and maintenance of power, as consistently advocated by the Communists. Listen to the *Communist*: "Does the Communist International Manifesto mean a change in the basic line of the Comintern with regard to the united front? Of course not!" And this same journal quotes from a pronouncement of the Communist International in 1921: "The time will come when entire and now still powerful Social Democratic parties will collapse, or if they persist in their treachery, will burst like soap bubbles; and when whole strata of the social democratic workers will come over to us. The tactics of the united front further and



expedite this process." Thus we see that Communists are frank in saying that *the purpose of the "united front" is to further and expedite the process whereby Socialists will come over to them.*

If Socialists decide to join in a united front on this basis, they must wholly abandon the principles and practices which have hitherto set them apart from Communists. If Socialists are to fight in a revolutionary army, they would become more efficient militarists by joining the Communist Party, which has long specialized in the strategy and tactics of armed battle. And let it not be forgotten that if capitalism is violently overthrown and a dictatorship of the proletariat established, those Socialists and pacifists who are opposed to Communist procedure will be "liquidated," as they have been in the Soviet Union, where many Socialists have been imprisoned, executed or exiled to Siberia.

For these reasons I welcome a manifesto recently issued by the British Labor Party, the Parliamentary Labor Party, and the British Trades Union Congress:

Today, in a world that is being driven by capitalist ruthlessness into Dictatorship, British Labour stands firm for the democratic rights of the people.

It believes that a united working-class movement, founded and conducted on the broadest democratic principles, can establish a Socialist society so soon as the workers are sufficiently advanced in political wisdom as to place their own Movement in the seat of government, armed with all the powers of the Democratic State.

Personally, I should regard it as an irreparable tragedy if the Socialist Party of the United States should ever abandon its efforts to secure a genuinely representative state and instead bend its energies to the task of establishing a dictatorship by means of civil war. Let us present a united front wherever that can be done without being swallowed up by the tide of violent class war. But let us never forget for a minute that the strategy of the Socialists and that of the Communists are irreconcilable. We cannot at the same time seek a democratic state and a dictatorship. We cannot follow both the pacifist procedure and the militarist method.

# The Oxford Group and Social Results

IRENE GATES

FOUR years ago there were still people who found it possible to believe in the permanence of the present organization of society. Today evidence of the disintegration of our socio-economic order is increasing on every side. Materialistic civilization, with its philosophy of getting more than one gives, stands forth as a failure. The question before all of us is what is to be the basis of the new order. Is it to be as selfishly acquisitive as the present, or are we to get down to the causes of poverty and economic disaster, and coöperatively build together a family society based on the mind of Jesus?

Down through the ages men motivated by the spirit of Christ have visioned a new world based on brotherhood. During recent years conference after conference of Christian men and women has faced our common needs, acknowledged Christ as the Way, and sent out men aflame to change the social order. Some of us have worked through "causes" and attempted to legislate people into goodness, and have been far from satisfied with the results of our efforts. At other times we have followed the way of humanitarian service, only to have disquieting moments when we have asked ourselves if we have really got at the root causes of people's difficulties when we have helped them to change their physical environment. As we have faced poverty and disease, we have wondered increasingly about the efficacy of such service. Then have come

still more searching questions: "Are we the kind of people whom God can use to change a social order? If so, what is His plan for it and how do we discover where we fit in?" Jesus began His own ministry with a call to repentance. Perhaps His conception of the task out-distances ours.

It is in a mood very like this that many of us have turned to the Oxford Group to discover there a personal experience of Christ which has given us a new and deeper sense of individual and social sin, and the realization of new direction and power for the accomplishment of His social objectives. As we have looked closely at the origins of the Group, we have seen that the effective working out of the social gospel has been inherent in the kind of first-hand experience of God which brought together the early group of thoroughly committed men and women under the leadership of Frank Buchman. Sometimes it is said that we have recently acquired a social gospel. What has actually happened is that as one life after another has surrendered to God, it has been possible for God to work out, through a larger group, social solutions which He could not accomplish through a few individuals.

Already such social vision is being translated into direct action in many areas of life. Most of us recognize that the tremendous problem of unemployment in this country has its origin in economic injustice and shortsightedness, and that solving that problem will



# Gold from Steel

KIRBY PAGE

**I**NEQUITABLE distribution of the proceeds of industry has long been recognized as a primary cause of the recurrent economic depressions which throughout our history have plunged multitudes of Americans into extreme destitution. Too much money has been paid to money in the form of interest and dividends, and too little money has been paid to the workers for services rendered. Impressive corroboration of this thesis is furnished by an examination of the financial record of the United States Steel Corporation. The recent issuance of the company's annual report for 1932 has prompted me to bring up to date an interpretation which I published in 1922. The figures which I am now presenting are taken from the annual reports of the corporation, and from a valuable tabulated history of U. S. Steel published in the *Wall Street Journal*, June 13, 1932.

From 1901, when the Corporation was founded, to the end of December, 1932, its total yield has been as follows:

Total Net earnings .....	\$4,569,615,357
Total Dividends Paid .....	1,747,695,262
Total Set Aside for Depreciation, Depletion, and Obsolescence .....	1,269,960,900
Total Expenditures for Ordinary Repairs.....	2,129,406,272
Total Expenditures for Maintenance, Depreciation and Depletion.....	3,369,518,461
Total Expended for New Construction.....	1,770,237,706
Total Payments for Wages and Salaries.....	8,884,758,057
Undivided Surplus Balance at End of 1932.....	349,759,864
Total Assets at End of 1932.....	2,158,732,222

Just what is the significance of the statement that the total net earnings have exceeded four and a half billion dollars? And what is the meaning of the figure of one billion seven hundred millions for dividends? The answers to these questions cannot be found in the company's reports, for the reason that the annual balance sheets are silent concerning *excessive overcapitalization*. But not so was Herbert Knox Smith, former United States Commissioner of Corporations:

In 1901 the fair market value of its tangible property was about \$700,000,000 slightly less than one-half of its capitalization. The figures show clearly that the entire issues of approximately \$508,000,000 of common stock of the Steel Corporation in 1901 had no physical property back of it; and also a considerable fraction, say from one-fifth to two-fifths, of the preferred stock was likewise unprotected by physical property.

In a volume entitled *United States Steel: A Corporation With a Soul*, which received the commendation of Judge Gary, Mr. Arundel Cotter admitted that the

common stock of the Corporation "had nothing behind it but blue sky," and that this statement "has never been denied and probably cannot be." Yet more than 927 million dollars have been paid as dividends upon this watered common stock which at the beginning had absolutely nothing behind it save expectations of profit.

**N**OT satisfied with this bonanza, the directors of the Corporation still further diluted its stock by issuing in 1927 a common stock dividend of 40 per cent. That is to say, if a stockholder owned 100 shares of common stock, he received as a special dividend an extra 40 shares. This combination of watered stock and stock dividends is an effective device for concealing the actual rates of return to investors. The books show that through 1926 a total of 128 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent had been paid on common stock, and that from 1927 through 1932, 33 $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent was paid on the increased volume of common stock, or an equivalent of 46 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the former amount, making a grand total of 174 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent cash dividends on stock that was originally all water.

In addition to the 927 millions in cash paid to owners of common stock and 821 millions to holders of preferred stock (7 per cent regularly, except one year at 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  per cent), 1,269 millions have been ploughed back into the business in the form of appropriations for depreciation, depletion and obsolescence, and another 1,770 millions expended for new construction. These four items total approximately five billion dollars, whereas the total property value of the Corporation at the beginning was 700 million dollars.

The response of the investing public to this flow of gold from steel is indicated by the high points reached by steel common at various periods: 55 in 1901, 91 in 1910, 136 in 1917, 160 in 1926, 261 in 1929.

Now let us see how the workers have fared. According to the company's figures, the average annual earnings of all employees in various years were as follows: \$717 in 1902, \$677 in 1904, \$801 in 1910, \$1,042 in 1916, \$2,173 in 1920, \$1,866 in 1929, \$1,831 in 1931. Two cuts in pay, in the latter part of 1931 and in May, 1932, reduced earnings by 25 per cent. In the annual report for 1932 we read that "the average earnings per employee per day were \$5.17." That sounds most reassuring—until further computations are made which were not presented by the Corporation. If we take its published figure of 158,032 as the average number of workers during the year, and the



## THE WORLD TOMORROW

amount of \$133,912,809 as the total pay roll for the year, we find that the employees averaged 164 days of employment—and at the average pay of \$5.17 per day, the average earnings of all employees during 1932 were \$848, the lowest since 1912. If the objection is raised that the 1932 figure is abnormal, I will put into the record the averages for the 31 years since the figures were first published in 1902: *during 30 different years the average earnings were under \$2,000; 21 years under \$1,800; 17 years under \$1,300; 12 years under \$900; eight years under \$800; and one year under \$700.* And even during the 10 years when the average wage ranged from \$1,800 to \$2,173, a considerable proportion of the workers were grossly underpaid. The average included the highly paid salaried officers and skilled mechanics, which means that even when wages were at the peak, half of the workers or more hovered around the \$1,500 level or fell short of this inadequate income.

It may well be that the Corporation has paid as high wages as those offered by other concerns, or even slightly more than the going wage. But this is only to say that inequitable distribution is general throughout industry, for the evidence is indisputable that U. S. Steel could have given the workers a much larger share

of the product of the common endeavor. The last annual report furnishes a convincing illustration. The statement is made that, as a result of a general wage cut of 15 per cent, "the curtailment in pay rolls arising from reduction of rates from May 16 to the close of December amounted to approximately \$9,600,000." Think of it, a saving of nearly 10 millions—when the undivided surplus on hand at the end of that year, 1932, was more than 349 millions!

If the undivided surplus were separated equally into reserves, first, for dividends and other payments to money, and, second, for wages and unemployment benefits, approximately 175 million dollars would be available for these latter purposes. Moreover, the amounts set aside for depreciation, depletion and obsolescence are excessive. If this total had been cut in half, another 635 millions would have been available for the wage and unemployment fund, making a total of more than 800 millions.

To say that United States Steel, in extracting every available ounce of gold for owners and investors, has simply followed the general business practice, is to bring a damning indictment against capitalism and to present a primary reason why our whole economic system is now so perilously near collapse.

### FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION

	<i>Total Net Earnings</i>	<i>Dividends Paid</i>	<i>Depreciation, Depletion and Obsolescence</i>	<i>Undivided Surplus Balance</i>	<i>Total Wages and Salaries</i>
1901	\$ 84,787,596	\$41,979,168	\$11,960,000	\$43,620,940	\$ 90,000,000
1902	133,308,764	56,052,868	27,814,000	77,874,598	120,528,343
1903	100,171,152	43,111,736	29,293,000	90,179,516	120,763,896
1904	73,176,522	25,219,677	18,207,000	60,772,731	99,778,276
1905	119,787,658	25,219,677	28,046,000	95,613,795	128,052,955
1906	156,624,273	35,385,727	35,565,000	132,056,656	147,765,540
1907	160,964,673	35,385,727	32,857,000	148,736,491	160,825,822
1908	91,847,710	35,385,727	22,350,000	105,079,477	120,510,829
1909	131,491,413	45,551,777	29,349,000	138,601,395	151,663,394
1910	141,054,754	50,634,802	30,224,103	157,173,780	174,955,130
1911	104,305,464	50,634,802	25,980,026	135,104,213	161,419,031
1912	108,174,672	50,634,802	31,099,455	137,296,442	189,351,602
1913	137,181,345	50,634,802	31,860,653	167,298,429	207,206,176
1914	71,663,614	40,468,752	25,143,207	134,826,445	162,379,907
1915	130,396,011	31,573,458	32,428,049	179,464,846	176,800,864
1916	333,574,178	69,696,146	39,547,613	381,860,915	263,385,502
1917	295,292,180	116,714,127	50,553,272	488,866,353	347,370,400
1918	187,135,679	96,382,027	40,718,824	460,596,154	452,663,524
1919	143,589,063	50,634,802	45,545,926	493,048,202	479,548,040
1920	176,686,898	50,634,802	46,684,364	552,107,628	581,556,925
1921	92,726,058	50,634,802	36,768,226	509,437,106	332,887,505
1922	101,529,310	50,634,802	42,688,509	497,945,611	322,678,130
1923	179,646,675	54,447,071	51,470,155	553,399,408	469,502,634
1924	153,114,812	60,800,852	48,892,837	537,017,560	442,458,577
1925	165,538,464	60,800,852	56,086,679	546,863,109	456,740,355
1926	199,058,869	60,800,852	64,220,911	577,729,662	467,409,446
1927	164,324,376	75,033,322	58,906,007	566,365,914	430,727,095
1928	193,304,828	75,033,322	67,237,303	446,982,425	413,699,720
1929	258,722,453	89,068,717	63,274,163	588,633,692	420,072,851
1930	152,116,865	85,585,474	58,550,120	471,782,759	391,271,366
1931	41,048,594	62,203,627	47,317,895	421,837,192	266,871,413
1932	*12,729,566	20,716,163	39,321,603	349,759,864	133,912,809
Totals	\$4,569,615,357	\$1,747,695,262	\$1,269,960,900		\$8,884,758,057
*Deficit.					



# A Socialist Program of Deliverance

KIRBY PAGE

**S**Ocialists are convinced that the goal of an equalitarian society cannot be reached by any short or easy route, and that many steps must be taken progressively before a just social order can be attained. But it must be admitted that when expressed in an extreme form the doctrine of gradualness often serves as an excuse for evasion or snail-like social velocity. Equally perilous, on the other hand, is the cataclysmic theory of social transformation. Sudden and sweeping and vital changes in a complex and interdependent economic system produce chaos and devastation. The tempo of the Russian revolution in highly industrialized and urbanized countries like Germany, England, or the United States, would utterly demolish the productive machine and lead to social retrogression. So it seems to me that the wisest course is that of *rapidly progressive non-warlike revolution*. That is to say, reduce to a minimum all entanglements with capitalism, keep eyes eagerly fastened on the goal of socialism, avoid the illusion of utopia-via-violent-cataclysmic-revolution, and step forward vigorously along the pathway of socialist policies.

Throughout socialist literature there runs an emphasis upon the desirability of bridging the chasm between super-privilege and under-privilege. To this end supplementing and restricting are both required. Abundance at the top is not warranted so long as destitution prevails at the bottom. *Rapid movement toward equality is conditioned upon the progressive transfer from private control to social ownership of the major means of production and distribution*, because members of the group which controls the primary sources of wealth appropriate rich prizes for themselves, while defrauding and exploiting the workers.

Socialization is likewise demanded in the interest of greater productivity, and at this point it is important to direct attention to the two types of industrial efficiency. There is first the output of men and machines on the local job, and second the science of coordination among countless productive units. *Capitalism has scored impressive victories in the former area, and has failed miserably in the latter field*. Even the gigantic size of modern corporations has not made possible effective teamwork among producers and distributors. So long as the chief instruments of production are owned privately, social planning on an adequate scale will be frustrated. A tragic volume of unemployment and poverty will continue until social ownership of the

vital industries makes possible the scientific coordination of raw resources, mechanical power, human energy, and the consumptive capacity of the entire population.

There is general agreement among Socialists that various units of our economic system should be socialized in somewhat the following order: banking and credit, waterpower, coal, oil and other sources of mechanical energy, railways and other primary means of transportation, telephone, telegraph, radio, minerals and other natural resources, land, and progressively the vital heavy industries.

**C**ONCERNING the method of socialization, outright *confiscation* is repudiated on pragmatic and ethical grounds, and *purchase* is advocated. The former policy could be carried out only by means of a prolonged and calamitous civil war. Purchase at a fair price is practicable whenever supported by an adequate volume of public opinion, and the amounts thus paid out would soon revert to the public treasury, in the form of income tax and inheritance tax payments. The speed of this recapture would be determined by the rates of taxation in the higher brackets, and practically the entire amount could be recovered within a generation if society should so determine. There is no reason whatever to believe that the owning class would offer armed resistance to this process, and, indeed, the accumulated experience of many countries is to the contrary.

The success of the Socialist program depends utterly upon the rapid elimination of private property in the chief instruments of production and distribution, looking toward its complete abolition at the earliest possible moment. Education and organization for socialization are all-important. Socialists therefore stress the importance of a triple organization: of workers in a powerful labor movement, of consumers in a cooperative movement, and of voters in a Socialist party. It may be that the consumers' cooperative movement is destined to play a minor role in the transformation of capitalism in the United States, but certainly the pace of progress toward an equalitarian society will be determined by the strength of the labor movement and the power of a Socialist party founded upon the philosophy of increasing private property in consumers' goods and eliminating private property in the vital instruments of production.

Socialization is retarded by the centralization of money power in the hands of industrialists and financiers who mobilize the agencies of public opinion in

\* This is the last of a series of four articles analyzing the American scene and the prospects for the future.



## THE WORLD TOMORROW

support of vested interests. Consequently it is highly important that steps be taken to limit income and wealth, while raising the standard of living of the masses. Bridging the gulf between the rich and poor therefore serves the double purpose of relieving the volume of destitution and accentuating the pace toward socialization. The following fifteen-point program is directed toward this dual end:

1. Huge appropriations for unemployment relief by federal, state and local governments are imperatively needed. For the immediate future, certainly, the volume of suffering occasioned by involuntary unemployment will continue to be so colossal as to demand outright grants from governments to supplement the diminishing resources of private charity.

2. Federal subsidies to farmers, temporarily at least, are required to save agriculture from the desperate plight into which it has fallen. Subsidies are objectionable in principle, but a nation which has long subsidized manufacturing interests through tariffs and in other ways can afford to rescue its rural population.

3. Drastic scaling down of debts is absolutely necessary. The consequent injustice that will be done to the creditor class will be mild in contrast to the manner in which debtors are now being victimized.

4. Substantial reductions in taxes on small holdings and on meager incomes are urgently needed.

5. The raising of several billion dollars through a federal bond issue for the purpose of putting the unemployed to work in rebuilding the slums, erecting dikes and dams, reforestation, and in other constructive enterprises is essential.

6. Social insurance covering sickness, accidents, old age, maternity cases, and unemployment possesses immense significance. Reserves for these purposes are more essential than for the payment of dividends and interest in slack times.

7. The minimum wage and the family wage are necessary to prevent sweatshop cut-throat competition and the providing of a minimum standard of decency and comfort.

8. The complete abolition of child labor by state and federal statutes would greatly strengthen the power of the working class, while preventing the exploitation of defenseless boys and girls.

9. The reduction of working hours, without decreasing wages, will, by spreading employment, bring increased incomes to the workers in general.

10. A rapid extension of free public privileges in the areas of education, art, music, recreation, and health would make possible a much higher standard of life for the mass of citizens.

11. Progressively heavy taxation of the rich will serve the double purpose of providing funds with which to make available these additional free public privileges and at the same time helping to break the stranglehold of the super-privileged upon the under-privileged.

12. Rigorous control of public utilities, semi-public utilities, and other corporate practices by official regulatory bodies will aid in reducing rates to the consumers, and in limiting excessive profits, prior to the time when such industries will be fully socialized.

13. Eternal vigilance against encroachments upon freedom of speech, press, and assembly is demanded in order that minority groups may have ample opportunities to promote their ideas.

14. The abandonment of the policy of bestowing special privileges upon manufacturers and financiers in the form of subsidies from tariffs and the opportunities for exploitation in foreign lands furnished by the marines and other methods of armed intervention is highly imperative.

15. The total disarmament of all armed forces maintained for action against other nations would result in the saving of six or eight billion dollars per decade, and this amount could then be devoted to the provision of innumerable public privileges for all the people.

IT IS necessary, however, not only to enumerate the proposals which if widely accepted would diminish substantially the degree of privation, while weakening the power of the owning class, but also to face the question as to how such a program may be progressively inaugurated. *Without doubt the primary factor in advancing these policies will be the breakdown or disintegration of capitalist efficiency.* The increasing complexity and interdependence of the various units of modern industry make it more and more impossible for private owners to secure the coordination required for efficient production and distribution. Even if capitalism in the United States is able to recover temporarily and bring about a return to prosperity on the pre-crash-of-1929 level—and this is a wholly improbable eventuality—the volume of unemployment will still be enormous, the workers will be unable to buy back that which they have produced and another depression will occur, and there is basis for the fear that subsequent lean years will produce even more terrific havoc than has ever been true in the past.

The cumulative evidence is sufficient to warrant the assertion that a rapidly increasing degree of social control is absolutely inevitable in an industrial society of ever-increasing complexity. But it is equally important to realize that there are many types of social control, ranging from iron rule under reactionary Fascists to dictatorship under revolutionary Communists. That is why Socialists are apprehensive concerning the strategy of liberal Democrat-Republicans. *Movement toward social control that is not consciously directed toward equality of economic privilege through the transfer of the major means of production from private control to public ownership may easily be diverted into directions that will more firmly entrench*



*vested interests.* Not aimless temporizing with the excesses of capitalism, but vigorously sustained efforts to undermine confidence in its economic validity and ethical justification are demanded. Effective socialist education must therefore be continuously directed toward the creation of public sentiment for socialized property and the channeling of that desire into appropriate action.

RECENT events in Germany and Italy make especially pertinent two questions put to me by Professor Harry F. Ward, the first one being this: "If the reactionaries prevent the workers from using the constitutional means of approach to social change, what would you do and what would you advise the workers to do?" My answer is that while Socialists are pacifists and repudiate violent class war, they have never bound themselves to stay within legal and constitutional limits. The chief exponent of non-violent coercion, Mahatma Gandhi, glories in his rejection of legality, as interpreted by the ruling class of imperialists. Legality is only a name for the rules which have been established by those who sit in seats of power, and Socialists have never made a fetish of obedience to law. Many immoral practices are legal, and many moral requirements are illegal. All genuine pacifists are emancipated from worship of statutes, and are willing to go to prison rather than to obey a law that requires killing of enemies.

If the German Social Democrats had refused ever to support a coalition government, had refused to endorse or rely upon President Hindenburg, and had been prepared to declare a general strike in opposition to a Fascist dictatorship, they might have been successful. One hesitates to make the dogmatic assertion that they would have been triumphant, because the reactionary opposition was powerfully organized and dominated the army, and in all probability controlled a majority of the police units. Even if a general strike had temporarily frustrated the Fascist attempt to seize power, the more difficult decision would have remained of endeavoring to conduct the government along parliamentary lines or to establish a workers' dictatorship. In the latter case the Nazis and other conservative-reactionaries would surely have put forth armed resistance, leading to civil war.

The second question was of this order: "If after social change has been effected constitutionally the reactionaries organize to restore the old order by force and violence, what would you advise the workers to do?" Three general answers to this question are possible: passivity, armed resistance, and non-warlike resistance. The reasons why I reject the first of these proposals have been set forth in my two previous articles of this series, which appeared in the issues of this magazine of March 1 and March 8. I have likewise expounded at some length my reasons for believing

that, in a highly industrialized and urbanized community, armed warfare along class lines—including warlike resistance to attacks by reactionaries—can only result in mass slaughter, catastrophic demolition of the productive and distributive system, and utter chaos. What sensible person would have advised the German workers to have resorted to armed resistance to the Nazis? They would certainly have been shot down like rats.

Thus it is desirable to point out that even if I am not able to give an entirely satisfactory answer to Professor Ward's questions, I am in no worse position than advocates of class warfare. Critics of Socialist strategy might well turn their eyes away occasionally from class war in rural Russia to industrial Germany, or even to Italy. Unless the ruling class bungles so badly that the productive system ceases to function, or unless it completely loses popular support, it cannot be overthrown without prolonged warfare, since all the odds are in its favor. The prospect of a revolutionary overthrow of Mussolini or even of Hitler is now extremely remote.

WITH these observations as a background, I will express the opinion that in industrial lands like Germany, England and the United States the Socialists' strategy is at least as effective *in a crisis* as that of the Communists, and far more likely *in the long run* to succeed in creating a just society. If and when the Socialists are able to build a sufficiently powerful labor movement, on the one hand, and to win parliamentary control of government, on the other, they will be able to abolish private property in the chief instruments of production and to bridge the gulf between the rich and the poor. Until that time the workers will continue to be ground under the heels of exploiters. And if the observation is offered that decades must elapse before final success can crown the efforts of Socialists, my reply is to the effect that even a longer stretch of time will be required before a just social order can be created in the United States by violent class war. It is easier to win the American working class to socialism than to communism, and the former road leads more surely and swiftly to an approximation of equality of privilege. The peoples of the earth fought the most calamitous war of history under the insane delusion that it was a war to end war. Let us not be destroyed by the equally mad obsession that classes can be eliminated and justice established by violent class warfare.

Even if the odds against the success of a pacifist-socialist program of economic deliverance are ten to one, I prefer to put my energies behind that remaining chance, rather than commit myself to the self-defeating method of violent class war or resign myself to the inevitability of a cataclysmic destruction of capitalism and the hope that a just society will emerge from the ashes.



# Not in the

## Congressman Talks of Revolution

On the floor of the House, on March 15, Representative Cross, of Texas, discussed the silver question and the general state of the Union in the following tone: "Why do our manipulating money barons continue to intimidate and frighten us by propaganda, through press, mail and radio? Have we not been generous in legislation for them? Have they forgotten the French Revolution with its guillotine, its Dantons and Robespierres? Russia with her Lenins and Stalins? There is a Mussolini in Italy, a Hitler in Germany, while in America 'coming events are casting their ominous shadows before.' When the storm breaks, it will be too late then, and there will be no cellars in which to hide. Those who oppose this measure are blinded by near-sighted greed, and if the golden scales would but fall from their eyes they of all men would be here pleading for its passage."

## 2,118 Boxes of Treasures

More than two thousand boxes of priceless treasures from the Peiping Museum have been sent to Pukow for safekeeping, forestalling the possibility of their seizure by Japanese invaders, reports the *China Critic*.

## Freedom Under Fascism

In commenting upon a letter just received from Italy, the *Manchester Guardian* on March 10 said editorially: "One by one, throughout the world, the last gleams of the lamp of personal liberty seem to be going out among the nations who once walked by its light. . . . For this must be the inevitable consequence of the compulsory membership in the Fascist party which is now to be enforced on all members of the teaching staff at every Italian university. The decree of 1931 compelling every lecturer and professor to take an oath of allegiance to the Fascist regime was, as this letter says, bad enough. . . . But at least passive endurance was possible under it; having passed the required test, a sound biochemist might then devote himself happily to biochemistry. But under this new ordinance the same biochemist will be expected, under pain of heavy penalties, to attend his local party meetings and otherwise show himself a stout propagandist in the cause of the corporate State."

## Saloons and Movies

Carl Laemmle, President of the Universal Pictures Corporation, in an address to members of his industry, recently expressed himself in this language concerning the prospective return of the saloon: "A large part of the money which will go to saloons for beer, and beer taxation, will come out of the movie business. . . . You and I have got to fight the return of the saloon as we would a pestilence. . . . The saloon will not create one single new dollar of money. It will simply mean that the dollar which has been spent on the movies and on semi-luxuries and even on necessities will be, in part, spent somewhere else. That part of it will be lost to you and me."

## Arab Non-Coöperation

The Arab Executive of Palestine has recently announced the adoption of a policy of non-coöperation with the British in protest against the refusal of the mandatory power to forbid the sale of Arab lands to Jews or to place further restrictions on Jewish immigration. Non-coöperation is to take the form of refusal to pay taxes and a boycott of British goods, reports *Current History*.

## Wandering Boys

To give point to discussion of how to treat America's homeless youth, Pioneer Youth of America will give revival performances of *The Road to Life*, Soviet film showing how the U. S. S. R. solved a similar problem.

## Rumanian Despotism

Under the pretext of a "state of siege" the Socialist activities and headquarters have been closed down in the Rumanian districts of Prahova, Galatz, Czernowitz and in other regions throughout the country.

## Hungarian Socialists Forge Ahead

Even under the severest repression of recent years in Hungary, a semi-terrorism which has, according to the Labor and Socialist International reports, eventuated in 154 cases of beating by gendarmerie of Social-Democrats for no other reason than their political faith, not to mention numerous acts of official suppression, the Hungarian Socialist Party has during the past year added more than ten thousand new members and increased the circulation of its journal by 26,000 new subscriptions. The Party, at its recent congress, was compelled in view of the governmental attitude, to devote the major portion of its deliberations to matters concerned with strategy.

## Marx Barred From Radio

The authorities in Switzerland, which have been swinging more and more toward a policy of reaction in recent weeks, would not permit a broadcast from the Zürich station by the Socialist Chief Justice of that city. In the midst of class hatred in fascist countries around Switzerland and the growth of it within Switzerland itself, declares the Labor and Socialist International in *International Information*, the Department of Posts and Telegraphs, which controls the federal radio, replied to the request for the broadcast in the following terms: "It assuredly cannot be denied that Karl Marx and Marxism are a subject that arouses the liveliest political emotions both for and against. Nor can there be any doubt that a glorification of the originator of class hatred comes, both in its purpose and its effects, under the heading of political party propaganda. . . ."

## Yergan Gets Spingarn Medal

Max Yergan, American Y. M. C. A. secretary who has worked for ten years among the native students of South Africa, has been awarded the nineteenth Spingarn medal, for 1932, the committee announced this week. The committee statement says: "He is a missionary of intelligence, tact and self-sacrifice, representing the gift of coöperation and culture which American Negroes may send back to their Motherland; and he inaugurated last year an unusual local movement for interracial understanding among black and white students." Mr. Yergan is expected in America in April and will receive the medal at the N. A. A. C. P. annual conference in Chicago, June 27-July 2.

## For Soviet Recognition

An independent Committee for Recognition of Soviet Russia has been formed "to stimulate public opinion throughout the country to urge the government of the United States to recognize Soviet Russia officially without delay." Margaret Lamont is executive secretary of the new committee. The advisory council of the committee includes William Allan Nielson, president of Smith College; William Allen White, famed editor; Franz Boaz, world-noted anthropologist; Morris R. Cohen, philosopher; John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church, New York; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett; George S. Counts, educator; Fannie Hurst, author; Quincy Howe, editor of *The Living Age*; Lincoln Steffens, author; Harry Elmer Barnes, writer; Sherwood Anderson, author; Elmer Rice, playwright; William Zorach, artist; Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, psychiatrist; and many others.



# Class War and Religion

KIRBY PAGE

**T**HAT coercion is both necessary and ethical under many circumstances was the thesis supported in my article of last week. If reverence for personality, the principle of mutuality, active goodwill, and love toward God and man constitute the essence of high religion, then in many situations in an imperfect world, compulsion becomes a religious obligation.

May class war likewise be defended on ethical and religious grounds? Is there no moral distinction between coercion and killing? Are imprisonment and electrocution essentially alike? Is taxation closely akin to revolutionary confiscation of property? Does the enforcement of traffic rules rest upon the same foundation as the maintenance by violence and terror of a proletarian dictatorship?

To return to an illustration previously used, is physical restraint of a son by a father the same thing in principle as would be the taking of the boy's life? No, emphatically no, is my answer. The deliberate killing of a son to protect a daughter raises a fundamentally different question. Forcible coercion is not necessarily a violation of the law of love, but I find it impossible to reconcile the intentional slaughter of any human being with the religious principle of reverence for personality, that is, respect for the personality of the dead man. Nor does active goodwill or the principle of mutuality justify the willful taking of human life.

But what is demanded by the principle of respect for the personality of the daughter? Is the life of her brother more sacred than her own? Here we are confronted with the all-important question of an ethical strategy on the part of the innocent in dealing with the guilty. The opinion has been almost universal and is still widespread that, in order to protect helpless people, the killing of criminal men is not only ethically justifiable but actually obligatory. Indeed the entire protective and penal system of modern society at present is founded upon this assumption.

This basic concept seems to me to be wholly at variance with the religion of Jesus. He summed up his way of life in the language of the two preëminent commandments, and sought to erect the Divine Society—the Family of God—upon the foundations of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Every person is a child of God and a brother of man. Therefore personality is the supreme value, and should be regarded as an end and not merely as a means to an end. Brother should act toward brother in ways that are consistent with brotherhood. If coercion of every

kind is an inherent denial of the family spirit, then it is immoral. But if certain types and degrees of compulsion represent true expressions of brotherly affection, coercion may ennoble personality. If the killing of a brother is an act which in its very essence is alien to and destructive of the family bond, then it is ethically unjustifiable.

From the perspective of high religion, the authorization of the police to kill a fleeing thief is a grossly immoral procedure. Property is thus elevated above personality. And if the observation be made that the inviolability of private property is necessary to the enrichment of personality in general, and that the refusal to kill robbers would encourage thieving and thus jeopardize all property, the rejoinder may be offered that any society which can protect its property only by shooting or hanging its offenders stands morally condemned. Before a just society can be established the property system and the penal code of such a social order must be radically transformed.

**I**F the principle is accepted that killing in defense of property and life is valid and mandatory, armed preparedness for war follows automatically. In an endeavor to safeguard the inviolability of property rights and human life on the high seas, the United States entered the World War, and to this day millions of patriotic citizens believe that our loss of 100,000 soldiers and the expenditure of 25 billion dollars was not only justifiable but unavoidable. That the navy is maintained at its present level for the purpose of protecting our sea-borne traffic and safeguarding our property in foreign lands, far more than for the purpose of keeping our shores from being invaded and our fellow citizens from being murdered, is an argument that runs like a crimson thread through the literature of armed preparedness.

Emphasis upon the social menace of the doctrine of defensive killing does not, however, excuse us from the necessity of facing squarely this supremely significant question: If a father is confined within the limits of the alternatives of taking his son's life or witnessing the death of his daughter at the hands of his son, what would be his religious duty? If non-killing fails to protect property and life, what is the way out for society? For me the answer of religion is clear: Seek to protect the innocent by reliance upon methods which are consistent with deep reverence for the personality of the wrongdoer; resort to that kind and degree of restraint or compulsion which is warranted by this principle; run



the consequent risks and accept whatever penalties are thereby imposed.

And if you say that such a policy would result in suffering and death for many innocent persons, I will make a triple rejoinder. The struggle between innocence and guilt necessarily results in misery and loss of life regardless of the methods and weapons used. Second, the existing penal code and the war system of armed preparedness to slaughter the guilty, and the eventual resort to armed hostilities, produce far more pain and cause more deaths among the innocent than would be the case if the doctrine of defensive killing were abandoned. Third, it is morally preferable for the innocent to die at the hands of the guilty than to save their own lives by slaying the offenders. Retaliatory killing is provocative and tends to be self-perpetuating. The willingness of the innocent to die rather than to kill may be redemptive.

**C**LEAR thinking on this subject must be based upon a realization that suffering and even death are inseparable from social conflict. For milleniums the endeavor has been made to safeguard life by preparedness to use violence, with results that are written in blood across the centuries. The periods in English history when the law was most ruthless and a hundred capital offenses were punishable by death were the decades when property and life were most imperilled. In our own day we have seen that ruthlessness on the part of the police increases public insecurity and multiplies the homicide rate. Capital punishment is not an effective deterrent to crime. On the contrary, by cheapening the value of human life and brutalizing the public mind, electrocution or hanging is likely to imperil society, rather than to safeguard it. Likewise, the historic effort to preserve life by going to battle has proved to be a horrible failure, and nothing could be more menacing to humanity than continued reliance upon war—on land, under the sea, and in the sky. The case against defensive killing is cumulative and overwhelming.

Exceptions to the rule do not invalidate the general principle that restraint by capital punishment or warfare is grossly ineffective and highly perilous. Even if individual cases may be cited where innocent persons were protected by slaying the offender, it still remains probable that the general practice of killing in self-defense has increased enormously the toll of victims. Innocent people will be murdered as long as society is imperfect, and the common sense thing to do is to select from among defense methods that are consistent with high religion those which are most likely to accomplish the desired end. Complete rejection of the practice of executing offenders would spur society forward in the search for more effective non-violent means of restraining the lawless.

And of the utmost significance is the fact that even

if dependence on non-violent coercion resulted in the death of as many innocent persons as would be killed by taking up weapons of violence, the social consequences would be utterly different. To kill your enemy or to lay down your own life rather than slay a wrongdoer alike result in the death of an individual, but the social consequences will not be the same. If Mr. Gandhi would starve himself to death in an endeavor to coerce his opponents into the abandonment of evil policies, his action may be called violence, as was done by Professor Coe in an earlier article in this periodical on *What Is Violence?* But such an act would possess an utterly different quality from the murder of an exploiter or oppressor. When Indian nationalists in their non-violent resistance to British rule permit themselves to be beaten prostrate to the ground without retaliatory acts on their part, they are exhibiting coercion and suffering in a form that is not provocative but redemptive. Preparedness to kill perpetuates violence, and fails to afford security to the innocent. Repudiation of the principle of defensive killing and reliance upon ethical means of resistance are imperative if the vicious circle of taking life in order to save life is to be broken. And so religious idealism, as I understand it, rules out voluntary killing of evildoers.

Thus it appears to me that there is a fundamental distinction between coercion and killing, between imprisonment and electrocution, between international non-military sanctions and armed hostilities, between economic-political compulsion and violent class war.

**I**N a previous article I stated the case for coercive restraint on the part of the victims of exploitation and oppression, and expressed the opinion that in numerous situations in an imperfect society religious idealism must express itself through compulsion. The cumulative evidence leaves no room for doubt in my mind that effective pressure against the injustice inflicted by the owning class requires collective action on the part of the workers by hand and brain. Class consciousness has already been developed to a fine art by owners and employers. One has only to listen to the conversations of business men to be impressed with the degree to which they are dominated by the traditions, emotions, practices and institutions of their class. Moreover, they are prepared to act collectively, through huge accumulations of capital, through an elaborate network of employers' associations and trade agencies, and through control of local, state and national government. The economic and political power—and therefore police and military force—at the disposal of the owning class is almost illimitable, and is wielded with a ruthless determination to maintain privilege, prestige and power.

In such a situation it is surely futile for the workers to expect justice unless they are prepared to exert effective pressure against their oppressors. Class solid-



arity is therefore an indispensable prerequisite to the creation of an equitable social order. The class consciousness of the owners and their collective determination not to relinquish their privileged status impose upon the workers the necessity of class consciousness and class struggle on their part. Justice may be secured only by the payment of a great price, a terrific and prolonged conflict.

Must class conflict necessarily assume the form of violent class war if it is to free the workers from the yoke of exploitation? Here we come to the parting of the ways for Communists and Socialists; perhaps one should say Socialists like Norman Thomas and the leaders of the Socialist Party of the United States, as well as those who dominate the British Labor Party. Communists believe that privilege and power cannot be wrested from the owning class without a violent combat and the resort to armed hostilities, while Socialists accept the class conflict as a reality, but reject violent class war, putting their reliance instead in economic and political coercion. As a Socialist, it is my deep conviction that a comprehensive program of economic and political action, without resorting to armed hostilities, offers far more hope of creating an equitable social order in the United States than is presented by a strategy of class warfare. In a subsequent discussion, to be published on April 5 at the conclusion of a series of articles on the American scene, I shall outline at greater length an economic and political program of deliverance for the American working class.

LET us now examine the Communist method of attempting the overthrow of American capitalism. (Perhaps I should explain that throughout this discussion I have in mind the Communist method as advocated and exhibited by Soviet Russia and other members of the Third International, rather than that of the theoretical Communists recently referred to by Professor Coe who use the term "war" in a figurative sense. Certainly Wm. Z. Foster in his *Toward Soviet America* speaks of class war with the utmost literalness.) Four aspects of this problem deserve emphasis. First, the probable time required to carry through the violent seizure of power. Second, the probable duration of the dictatorship by terror before the population could be trained in Communist thinking and before Communist institutions could be firmly established. Third, the economic consequences of violent class warfare and dictatorship. Fourth, the ethical and religious significance inherent in armed hostilities on the class front.

Communists lay stress upon the fact that it is not necessary to enlist a majority of the workers in order to seize power. They place their reliance in a disciplined and resolute minority of class-conscious workers who have been trained and equipped to seize strategic institutions, such as power plants, railway terminals,

banks, government offices, postoffices, telephone and telegraph offices, grain elevators and other food centers, steel mills and other giant productive units. But in a country as vast as the United States, with as many populous and strategic centers, a huge proletarian army would be required. The national army and navy, national guard, municipal police forces, The American Legion, The Veterans of Foreign Wars and similar bodies may be relied upon to fight to the last ditch against a Communist dictatorship. Even in the fourth winter of acute economic misery, scarcely a dent has been made by radical revolutionaries in the mass of unemployed workers, while traces of revolutionary infection among soldiers and sailors are imperceptible. To interpret the tax protests of farmers and their organized resistance to mortgage foreclosures in terms of a genuine revolutionary movement that would support a Communist seizure of power is to labor under a grotesque illusion.

The economic and political power of the owning class is terrific, and in no country in the world would industrialists and financiers resort to more ruthless efforts to suppress a revolutionary uprising than in the United States. And if the economic structure collapses within the near future, the people of this country will not turn to radical leadership. On the contrary, in a panic of fear, they will consent to the establishment of some form of Fascist dictatorship by property owners. That the Communists will carry through successfully a revolutionary seizure of power in this country within the next decade seems to me an utterly fantastic prophecy, and that we shall see a Communist regime in the United States within twenty or thirty years appears wholly improbable.

MOREOVER, if such a dictatorship were established, it would for at least a generation be threatened with overthrow, and the degree of violence and terror required to liquidate counter-revolutionaries would be far greater than has been the case in Soviet Russia. The concepts of democracy, individual liberty and freedom of movement are so deeply implanted in the minds of Americans that the imposition of dictatorial measures in industry, commerce and agriculture would encounter far more opposition than in many other countries. Determined resistance to enforced regimentation would be manifested by manual workers, farmers and members of the middle class of clerical and professional men and women. The compulsory collectivization of agriculture would require many decades of ruthlessness, as the much larger proportion of "kulaks" in this country would necessitate more severity than has been meted out to the richer peasants in Russia.

Realism at this point is highly imperative. Much loose talk has been going the rounds to the effect that, while violence is unethical, the revolution cannot be



ushered in without a "final push" of armed force. Let us be clear as to what is involved. If this "final push" is to make possible the seizure of power, it must be executed with weapons that are equal to or superior to those used by the owning class. Hasty improvisations for the final battle would merely result in ghastly slaughter of the workers. Even a general strike, accompanied by rioting and street fighting, would not dispossess the present holders of economic power. Successful seizure of power requires a disciplined revolutionary army which is equipped with modern weapons of battle and supported with adequate quantities of munitions and other military supplies. This means that revolutionary violence can be made effective only by years of armed preparedness. The notion that the workers can overthrow capitalism by a last minute "final push" is utter nonsense. Lenin repeatedly pointed out that seizure of power will remain impossible as long as the army continues loyal to the old regime.

Thus the evidence appears incontestable that preparation for violent revolution, actual seizure of power, and establishment of a Communist regime on a permanent basis in the United States will require at least thirty or forty years. And so the frequently repeated criticism of the Socialist program as being too slow in its operation loses much of its significance. The inescapable truth is that by no possible combination of methods can a really equitable social order be created within one or two decades. In Soviet Russia, where the opposition to Communism has been much feebler than would be the case in the United States, workers and peasants alike are still suffering acute physical privation, after 15 years under a revolutionary regime. The belief that poverty, exploitation and injustice can speedily be abolished by violent revolution is sheer romanticism and has no roots in reality.

**M**OREOVER, the social consequences of prolonged civil war in a highly industrialized nation would be devastating beyond imagination. The degree of interdependence of the people in an urban civilization and the destructiveness of chemical and aerial warfare would transform congested areas into infernos. The demolition and dislocation of an infinitely complex productive and distributive system would quickly produce hunger and starvation on an appalling scale in metropolitan communities. Modern warfare is ghastly beyond exaggeration, and civil war among industrial populations is the most diabolical form of conflict. With abundant reason, therefore, does Reinhold Niebuhr write: "If violence can be justified at all, its terror must have the tempo of a surgeon's skill and healing must follow quickly upon its wounds." And with equal justification does Niebuhr utterly repudiate the Communist strategy of violent class warfare.

The ethical and religious case against revolutionary violence is made even more conclusive when we recognize the part played by hatred in Communist tactics. Not class solidarity alone, but class hatred is deliberately engendered as necessary to effective hostility against the owning class. Communist literature abounds with direct incitations to hatred and every effort is made to infuriate the workers into armed rebellion against their oppressors. Class enmity must take the form of suppressing all opposition. "Under the dictatorship," writes Wm. Z. Foster, Communist candidate for President of the United States, "the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses." That virulent hatred and enmity are irreconcilable with high religion seems obvious beyond dispute.

My conclusion, then, is that the Socialist program of persuasion and social coercion through economic and political pressure is more consistent with religious idealism than any other method which offers hope of building a just social order; and that the Communist strategy of violent class war is pragmatically indefensible and morally unjustifiable.

**A**ND now a concluding question must be faced: What should be the attitude of truly religious persons toward the workers, if in desperation they resort to armed action in an endeavor to secure justice? My own answer is clear and unequivocal. I am on the side of the victims of exploitation and injustice, and make no pretense of being neutral in the class conflict. I have been endeavoring to make my position clear that under no circumstances will I participate in armed warfare, whether it be international or class warfare. Moreover, I will never sanction or approve any kind of armed hostilities. But this must not be interpreted as meaning that I will forsake the exploited masses. I am on their side, even if they follow the fatal example of their oppressors and resort to retaliatory violence. A Belgian pacifist who refused to take up arms against Germany did not thereby assume an attitude of neutrality, but chose to express his loyalty to Belgium in higher ways than by killing Germans. Such a man was not acting as a parasite, profiting by the suffering of his countrymen. Likewise, it is possible for a non-violent revolutionist to refrain from participating in or sanctioning armed hostilities, without abandoning his loyalty to the workers. Being convinced that all armed warfare is ineffective and unethical, a radical religious pacifist should refrain from hatred and murder, and should depend utterly upon persuasion and ethical forms of coercion, being willing to run risks and accept consequences while cooperating to the utmost with a loving and suffering God, who through the ages has been endeavoring to create a just and harmonious Fellowship of Kinsmen.



# Is Coercion Compatible with Religion?

KIRBY PAGE

**I**S compulsion necessarily a violation of the law of love? Is it impossible to exercise coercion in the spirit of active goodwill? Does forcible restraint necessarily mean a departure from the principle of mutuality? Does loyalty to the Golden Rule lead to acquiescence in the face of evil or at most to *passive* resistance? Do the two Great Commandments forbid all kinds of social coercion?

Here is a fundamental problem of this age. If an affirmative answer is given to these questions, a logical consequence will be the withdrawal of religionists from active participation in the class struggle, on the one hand, and, on the other, the repudiation of religion as a practical and beneficent factor under present circumstances by persons who consider forcible restraint and coercion as absolutely essential to social justice.

A sharp cleavage between religionists and social revolutionists would constitute a tragedy of first magnitude. Such a separation would in actuality mean allegiance to the present social system by churches and synagogues, for in the existing situation to be neutral or inactive is in reality to render valiant support to the present holders of power and privilege. It still remains true that there are circumstances under which "he that is not for us is against us." In that event, those persons who are seeking to impose collective restraints and coercions upon iniquitous vested interests would naturally conclude that religionists who actively support their oppressors or stand passively upon the sidelines must be numbered among their enemies. The inevitable result would be bitter hostility to religion and a determined effort to extirpate it as a social curse, as is now the case in Soviet Russia.

But we are not impaled upon the horns of this dilemma, the rejoinder will be made from certain quarters. To withhold approval from the use of restraint or compulsion is not necessarily to be neutral or inactive. It is still possible to be unrestrained in condemnation of evil and untiring in the endeavor to convert and transform wrongdoers. And this response requires us to consider two fundamental questions: Have we reason to believe that conversion of the present owners of property will produce the necessary social changes required in order that justice may be secured by the victims of the existing economic system? Is there available a supplementary method which is both ethically justifiable and socially effective? My own opinion can be put in few words: Persuasion by itself will *not* suffice; but fortunately ethical forms of effective coercion are available.

The wielding of power has a blinding effect. For a slave owner to understand the significance of the process out of which emerged his privileges, prestige and power was a near-miracle. Even genuinely converted Christians—that is, those who were gripped by a passionate desire to do the will of God—failed to see the inherent cruelty of the slave system, but instead looked upon it as being divinely ordained. Century after century truly devout men supported the political order of the divine right of kings, and for hundreds of years the churches sanctioned and supported the feudal system, with all its semi-slavery and inhumanity. Multitudes of Christians in the United States at the present time, men and women who zealously aspire to Christlikeness, conscientiously support the capitalist system and fail to understand its inherent cruelty and injustice.

Moreover, even among the small company of the elect who do recognize the incompatibility of the present industrial system with their religion, there is widespread paralysis because of timidity and a sense of impotence. For a powerful industrialist to condemn unsparingly the system out of which he secured wealth and prestige and to commit himself untiringly to the task of transforming the old system into a radically different economic order requires courage of a higher quality than is possessed by most persons, even though they have good intentions. Indeed, the trouble is much more deep-rooted because of the inherent difficulties confronting a man who seeks to conduct his business on an ideal basis within an unjust social order. To pay really adequate wages is for many a business man now impossible because of the ruthlessness of the competitive struggle. Long ago Robert Hunter pointed out in his provocative volume, *Why We Fail As Christians*, the impossibility of being fully Christian in an un-Christian society.

**T**HE evidence, therefore, seems to me conclusive that there is only a remote possibility of converting enough property owners to make possible the transformation of the present economic order by voluntary action from the top; with perhaps an even more remote chance that these regenerated individuals will be able by persuasion to abolish the prevailing barbarous exploitation on the part of their unredeemed competitors. That the millions of miserable victims of capitalism will wait for this age-long process to alleviate their suffering appears wholly unlikely. Thus the assumption that religion must rely exclusively upon non-coercive methods is fraught with infinite social peril. It is



# Headlines

## Better Wages 25 Years Ago

The Consumers' League of New York charged, in a summary of their recently conducted survey, wholesale violations of the cannery code adopted by the New York Labor Department in 1932. In some instances wages paid to women were reported as low as eight cents an hour, a lower rate than that paid 25 years ago. Mrs. Elinore M. Herrick, secretary of the league, asserted that concerning the new canning code, which was adopted last year after its provisions had been jointly worked out by the State Department of Labor and the Cannery Association, "the situation as it existed in 1928 is practically unchanged; the cannerymen, except in a few instances, have signally failed to make good on their agreement with the Labor Department."

## The Cost of War

The U. S. Government's expenditures in the fiscal year 1932 for past and future wars constituted 130 per cent of the government's income. The appropriations for past and future wars for 1933 consume 100 per cent of the anticipated income for the year.

## Civil Rights for Indians

The Committee on Indian Civil Rights is launching a campaign to remove 194,500 American Indians from their status as wards of the federal government and to grant them the civil rights enjoyed by other citizens. No Indian can at present make contracts, borrow money, draw his own money, bequeath property, or hire a lawyer without permission of the Indian Bureau. *The Indian Primer* has just been issued explaining the situation. The Indian Bureau and the Department of the Interior are opposed to the movement.

## Richmond's Chief

Action by the Socialist Party to oust the public safety director and police chief of Richmond, following the breaking up of a hunger march there by police, has the support of the American Civil Liberties Union. The march was staged Feb. 4 by the local Unemployed Council, its route leading around the City Hall. Abe Tomkin, founder of the local council, led the paraders, and was arrested in the middle of a speech. Nine prominent Socialists, who attended the demonstration as observers, issued a statement afterward in which they demanded that Mayor J. Fulmer Bright dismiss the two police heads. They attested that Tomkin's speech was mild, reserved, and dignified, and that there was no ground for his arrest nor for the dispersal of the gathering.

## Negroes Barred From Negro Play

Barring of Negroes, who form more than 25 per cent of the population of the national capital, from the National Theatre when "Green Pastures" is being presented there, has been formally protested by Marc Connelly, author, and Rowland Stebbins, producer of the famous play. In a joint letter to the National Theatre management they say that if this exclusion is enforced, they will do all in their power to see that no future productions in which they are interested are shown at this playhouse.

## Two Socialists Line Up 45

The resolution introduced in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives by Darlington Hoopes, Socialist, demanding cash payment of relief to unemployed, was killed after a floor fight in which the two Socialist legislators lined up 45 votes in favor of the measure. The resolution was sponsored by Hoopes at the request of the organized unemployed of Reading.

## Taxi!

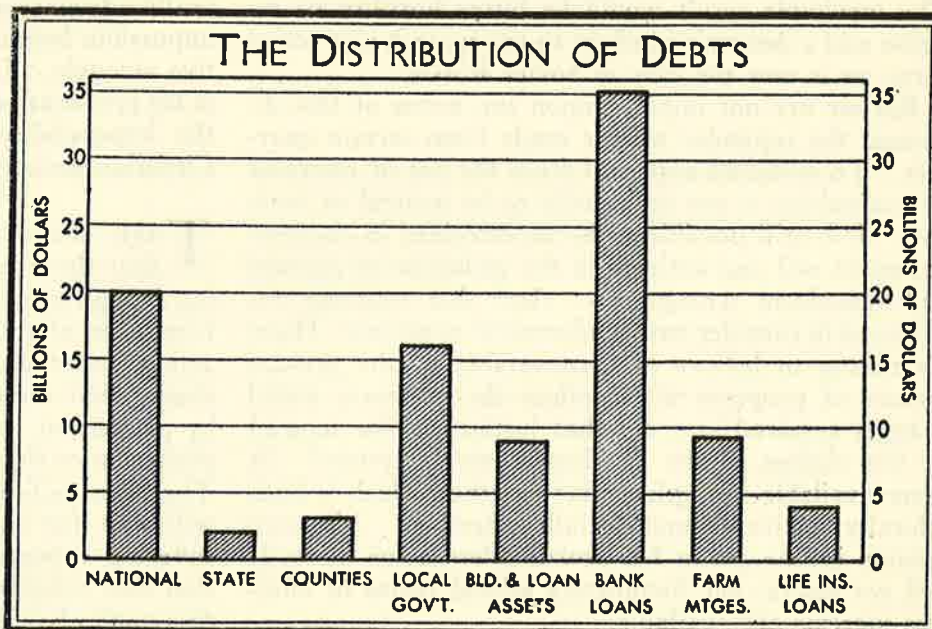
After a strike lasting since September 1, Oakland taxi drivers have gone back to work on a compromise settlement. The original wage was \$3 a day, plus 40 per cent of the net income over \$45 a week. The men struck against an effort to reduce this drastically. They will now receive 40 per cent straight of their net income, plus five per cent extra if they have no accidents; no guarantee minimum will be made.

## English Tactics in India

A fine of 80,000 rupees has just been imposed by the British government upon the whole Hindu population of the town of Chittagong and several neighboring villages, because the government has been unable to catch a few revolutionists who committed some terrorist crimes in Chittagong some months ago. One of the ordinances that the Viceroy refused to discuss with Gandhi authorized the government to inflict collective punishments upon whole communities for the offenses of individuals. A deputation went to Calcutta and represented to Sir John Anderson, the Governor of Bengal, that this big fine would cause great suffering to thousands of perfectly innocent persons; but the official turned a deaf ear, and has sent down special officers to begin at once to collect the fine by force.

## Form Debtors' League

Francis Juggins, Boston financial attorney, has announced that a League of Debtors is being formed to save poor persons from being persecuted by collectors, shyster lawyers and tough creditors. A large staff of attorneys will devote themselves exclusively to debtors' problems, he declared. "Approximately a billion dollars is owed in New England by individuals under the \$5,000-a-year class or unemployed," Juggins said. "Many have been browbeaten into jeopardizing their jobs, their futures and the livelihood of their families."



From the Magazine of Wall Street



imperative, therefore, that we discover and utilize effective means of restraint and compulsion that are consistent with religion.

And so we return to the question, Is compulsion necessarily a violation of the law of love? To offer an affirmative answer is to deny the validity of all existing governments. This is the position taken by Tolstoy and other absolute non-resistants. Few readers of these words, however, will agree that anarchy alone is consistent with love. Failure to isolate an individual who has contracted an infectious disease, even in spite of his objection, might cost hundreds of lives. Under present circumstances and for a long time in the future, coercive penalties will be necessary for the enforcement of the sanitary code and pure food laws. The refusal to enforce traffic regulations against careless or reckless offenders would make the highways impassable. The policy of leaving the question of paying taxes to the discretion and thoughtfulness of the individual, with no compulsion attempted, would produce gross injustice. In a community which includes immature, abnormal and depraved persons, failure to provide police protection would certainly lead to outrages, loss of life, and retaliatory violence.

**T**HE proposition is debatable that at some future time a society will have been created in which no forcible restraint or coercion of any kind will be needed, but no reader of this paragraph will live that long. For this generation the question assumes the form: In our complex civilization is coercion in some form essential to security, justice, and social harmony? And there is only one possible answer. Pure anarchy in this country, now or at any time in the near future, would lead only to chaos and violence. Only a few persons out of our entire population would dissent from this conclusion. The only differences of opinion among us have to do with the realms in which compulsion is required, appropriate methods of making it effective, and the degree to which it may justifiably be carried.

We must now face the vital question of whether or not religion is practicable under present conditions. If compulsion is absolutely incompatible with love toward one's neighbor, then the conclusion is inescapable that truly religious persons cannot function as citizens of complex modern communities, and if consistent must withdraw to ascetic colonies. But was Tolstoy justified in interpreting the Sermon on the Mount in anarchistic terms? The answer cannot be found in isolated texts or combinations thereof, but rather in a consideration of the basic elements which together constitute the religion of Jesus. He himself summed up his message as a twofold obligation of love toward God and love toward all men, including enemies. The Golden Rule of conduct was phrased in terms of mutuality: "do unto others as you would have them do unto you."

The true criterion of every thought and deed must, therefore, be found in its effects upon human personality, human relations, and communion between man and God.

**P**ERHAPS we may gain illumination from a consideration of the way true love may legitimately express itself in a home. Does deep affection on the part of a father rule out all forcible restraint or compulsion of a son? Or is it truer to say that under certain circumstances love just because it is love will coerce the loved one? Consider this situation: a son in a fit of rage seizes a chair and is about to kill his sister. The father is near at hand and quickly reaches the conclusion that nothing short of physical restraint will save his daughter's life. Will the use of force against his son constitute a violation of the spirit of love? The only ethical answer is an emphatic negative. Love toward son and love toward daughter alike demand the prevention, by ethical means, of a terrible crime.

The central problem here involved may be evaded by saying that if the son had received proper training such a situation would never have arisen, or that other means than forcible restraint are open to the father. But the crucial question for those of us who live in a wicked and sinful generation is this: If failure on the father's part to use force would cost the daughter's life, would such restraint be incompatible with genuine love toward the son? By no means. On the contrary, for the father to permit a crime which he could prevent would itself constitute a base betrayal of affection for the boy. That is to say, there is no inherent irreconcilability between love and coercion, but rather the reverse; under some circumstances love ceases to be love if it fails to use moral means of restraint.

**T**HUS we may say that coercion is not necessarily a contradiction of religion and that the actual problem before us is the determination of just what forms of compulsion are consistent with active goodwill. I am therefore unable to agree with Reinhold Niebuhr when he writes: "Nothing is clearer than that a pure religious idealism must issue in a policy of non-resistance which makes no claims to be socially efficacious." Nor can I follow Theodore C. Hume when he says: "... an appeal to social coercion, as a buttress of moral ideals, falls short of the teaching and example of Jesus." Non-resistance in the sense of rejecting all forms of coercion is not always a legitimate expression of love toward man and love toward God. Indeed, as I have been pointing out, the refusal under some circumstances to exercise forcible restraint is a betrayal of love and therefore a betrayal of high religion. An ethical and rational individual, who in a moment of uncontrolled rage was about to do irreparable damage to another person, would look with gratitude upon a friend who forcibly restrained him from com-



mitting an act of madness. The Golden Rule does not forbid all compulsion: on the contrary there may be occasions when to "do unto others as you would have them do unto you" requires coercion. Forcibly to restrain a drunken youth who is about to outrage a struggling young woman is not to abandon the principle of active goodwill. A physical blow against a kidnapper who is attempting to flee with a small child is not a denial of the doctrine of mutuality. *In countless situations in an imperfect society a man in the truest spirit of the noblest religion must resort to coercion.*

**B**UT the further question must be faced: may the true spirit of religion be expressed in coercive action against anti-social groups? Does the principle of mutuality permit the adoption of compulsory measures against exploiters and oppressors? Are there forms of resistance to evil which are compatible with goodwill?

It may be rewarding in this connection to consider again the response of Mahatma Gandhi to this fundamental question. Here is an exalted seer of religion who is passionately convinced that mass coercion of evildoers is not only permissible but obligatory. Acquiescence in the face of foreign exploitation he regards as a betrayal of religion. Reverence for the personalities of his people prompts him to unrelenting opposition. That mutuality is impossible as long as the present status is maintained is a fixed idea in his mind, and with entire goodwill he is exerting terrific pressure—moral, political and economic—against the imperialism of Britain. He repudiates hatred and weapons of violence, but is resolutely determined to compel the conqueror to transfer political sovereignty to his countrymen. And there is an abundance of evidence that England will be obliged to yield.

But, the rejoinder will be made, Mr. Gandhi is not wholly consistent and his movement contains elements which cannot be reconciled with high religion. Some of his supporters exhibit venomous hatred toward the British and occasionally persons enrolled under his banner resort to violent outrages. And the more effective his campaign of non-coöperation becomes, the more severe the suffering imposed upon English workers who are thereby thrown out of employment. It would be futile to maintain that any political movement can be kept absolutely free from ethical inconsistencies, or to contend that Mr. Gandhi's campaign of non-violent non-coöperation is entirely without moral contradictions. But with emphasis the assertion may be made that, when all the complex aspects of the situation are taken into account, there has been miraculously little violence, while enmity has been kept at an amazingly low level. And it is especially important to correct a frequently repeated statement that the non-coöperation movement is causing starvation in the textile regions of England. Such is not the case, although it is true that the degree of financial burden placed upon the govern-

ment in providing unemployment relief has thereby been increased. The suffering voluntarily endured by Indian participants in the non-coöperation movement is much more severe than that imposed upon the oppressing nation, although it is much less ghastly than the agony of soldiers on the battlefield.

Of the three alternatives open to the people of India—acquiescence for years to come, revolutionary war, and non-violent non-coöperation—it seems clear to me that Mr. Gandhi has chosen the method which is most consistent with respect for personality, mutuality, and active goodwill. That is to say, the method which is most consistent with religious idealism is proving to be also the most practical political procedure.

But the question is sure to be raised: Are you justified in saying that coercion is consistent with religion in the light of Jesus' rejection of force as a means of delivering his people from the bondage of Rome? There are two ways of attempting to get at the roots of this problem. First, by examining and comparing the various Biblical texts that are relevant to the discussion, and basing a conclusion upon specific passages ("Resist not him that is evil"—"Go and buy a sword"—or other isolated injunctions). Second, by discovering the basic constituent elements in Jesus' religion and by viewing our own contemporary problems through the mind of Christ. If we follow the latter course, the question we are considering takes the following forms: Is coercion consistent with love toward God and man? Is compulsion compatible with deep reverence for personality? Does forcible restraint ever contribute to the building of the Family of God?

The evidence is too fragmentary to enable us to reach an infallible conclusion as to the degree to which Jesus actually resorted to coercion, or to determine with finality the reasons why he acted as he did in specific situations. Nevertheless, the record is crystal clear as to the essential nature of his way of life. He sought to live every day as a good member of God's Home, and tested every attitude and deed by the criteria of the sacredness of personality, the principle of mutuality, and the practice of fellowship. Repeatedly he challenged his disciples to live daily as if the Family of God had already come.

It is of course true that in our own day we cannot always decide from the literal example of Jesus just what course of action in a specific setting will enable us most completely to exalt personality and to harmonize human relations. But the basic concepts and experiences of his religion—which in theological language we call the mind of Christ—are as valid today as when he walked Galilee in the flesh, and if lifted up will throw a vast flood of illumination upon the complex problems of our modern civilization.

In our next issue I shall face the question as to whether it is ever morally justifiable to take human life, and shall discuss class war in the light of religion.



# If War Is to be Abolished

KIRBY PAGE

**T**WENTY years after the outbreak of a war fought to end war, the nations are plunging closer and closer to the brink of armed annihilation. At this appropriate moment let us survey the two decades which have passed since the spark of Sarajevo exploded powder mines all around the earth. Then let us calculate the price that must be paid for international peace.

1. The beginning of wisdom in relation to the World War is found in the recognition that Germany did not cause that holocaust. Governments in wartime always attribute their belligerency to a mad-dog neighbor who can be resisted only by armed action. But we now know that the passionate conviction of hundreds of millions of citizens in Allied countries that the war was caused by the Kaiser and his Potsdam gang of Prussian militarists rested on nothing more substantial than illusion and myth and falsehood. Historians of all nations are now in agreement to an extraordinary degree that the World War was not caused by a man or by a nation, but was produced by the explosion of clashing economic and political forces for which the Great Powers (especially) were equally responsible. Germany's struggle for a place in the sun was not different in kind, nor in degree, from those of Great Britain, France and Russia. At no time did Germany have the largest army or largest navy or heaviest appropriations for armaments. The mad-dog theory was diabolically effective as wartime propaganda, but it has not a leg of historical fact upon which to stand.

2. From the perspective of 1934 we can now see clearly the futility and folly of reliance upon armaments for security. One has only to keep his eyes upon the relevant facts to recognize the absurdity of the hoary assertion that the way to keep out of war is to be so strongly armed that nobody will dare to attack you. At best this theory could hold true for only one nation in a given region, and if any country armed to this extent it would be regarded as an intolerable menace by other peoples. The answer to a simple question smashes into atoms the nobody-will-dare-attack-you theory: Which nations in Europe were the most heavily armed in 1914? The effort to be adequately armed leads inevitably to counter-armaments across the border, and the race of armaments increases the likelihood of war. In response to the frequent assertion that Switzerland kept out of the World War because she was well armed, I should like to inquire: Was it Switzerland's army, or was it her internal divisions, as illustrated by her three official languages—

French, German and Italian, that preserved her neutrality? Was it a big army and a big navy that kept Holland out of the war.

3. A third lesson of recent history was pointed out bluntly by Secretary of War Dern on Armistice Day before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier: "There has been much dispute as to who won the war. The plain truth is that nobody won. Everybody lost." Nobody won! The supporting evidence is cumulatively overwhelming. The destructiveness of modern warfare is so vast and the interdependence of peoples so extreme that prolonged hostilities on an extensive scale threaten the existence of orderly society. The passion for gain and the desire for security were alike frustrated by the war. That the economic losses for every action involved outweigh the economic advantages secured cannot be questioned by any sane man. And that security through armaments and war has proved to be a vanishing mirage is likewise undeniable.

4. From our present vantage point, it is obvious that the United States committed a terrible blunder in entering the World War. When we get behind the explanations advanced as to why we had to fight—to end war and to make the world safe for democracy—we discover that the real reason for taking up arms against Germany is found in a conflict over neutrals' rights and a determination to protect property and life on the high seas. The extent of our failure is reflected in the record of the costs of the war in money and in men. If the government of the United States had relied upon non-warlike means of seeking to protect the rights of its citizens, the damage sustained from submarine attacks might have amounted to hundreds of millions of dollars. But even the maximum estimated damages would have been trivial and inconsequential in contrast to the financial loss already sustained—from 50 to 100 billion dollars. The number of American lives lost on the high seas, if the United States had refrained from armed hostilities, might have mounted into the thousands. But surely no sane person will maintain that these losses would have exceeded the 100,000 Americans who died in the war. In property and in life, we lost the war.

Few thoughtful Americans are now inclined to doubt that in entering the war this country sustained a colossal net loss in money and in life. But the impression still prevails in many quarters that the belligerency of the United States was justified on the ground that such action prevented a German victory and an even worse treaty than that of Versailles. The evidence seems



conclusive to me that the war would have ended as a draw in 1916 if the Allies had not been assured by Colonel House, in a statement signed early in 1916 and initialed by Woodrow Wilson, that the United States would probably enter the war against Germany. By this time a stalemate had existed for months across the entire Western front. As early as January 15, 1915, Ambassador Page wrote to Secretary Bryan: "I lunched today with General French [Commander-in-Chief of the British Armies in France], who came here secretly for a council of war. He talked, of course, in profound confidence. He says that the military situation is a stalemate." Concerning the state of affairs a year later, Professor Semour of Yale writes: "For as the spring and summer of 1916 passed, Colonel House guessed what the historian now realizes: that the war had reached a state of deadlock which could only be broken by the interjection of some force from outside." The first chapter of the second volume of Winston Churchill's *The World Crisis* is entitled "The Deadlock in the West." "When the old year closed," he wrote, "a complete deadlock existed between the great combatants in the West by land and by sea."

That the world situation would now be less intolerable if the war had ended as a draw seems incontestable to me. No more prophetic words came out of the war than those uttered by Woodrow Wilson three months before the United States became a combatant, in his famous peace-without-victory speech:

The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all. . . They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. . . I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Nevertheless: The Americans are here! Triumphant victory for the Allies! The Treaty of Versailles bayonnetted down Germany's throat! Hitler! Quicksand!

## *A Program of Action*

What can we do to pull our civilization out of the mire which is rapidly engulfing it? Five steps constitute an absolutely minimum program.

1. First in significance, we must abolish the system of private property in the chief means of production and distribution. The power inherent in ownership of the primary sources of wealth leads inevitably to excessive inequality of income, over-saving and under-

spending, over-production and under-consumption, conflict for foreign markets and fields of investment, tariff controversies, race of armaments, suspicion, hatred, fear and war. Propaganda financed by the vast wealth of the owners of industry is a chief factor in the perpetuation and intensification of nationalism, with its worship of the past and its fear of change. It is not a mere coincidence that super-patriots who sound the alarm against "internationalists" because they threaten to undermine national sovereignty and jeopardize national honor also utter the shrillest cries against "Reds" who "menace the Constitution" and the security of great fortunes. While it is not valid to say that capitalism is the sole cause of nationalism, it is sheer blindness to overlook the provocative part played by property interests in fanning the flames of jingoism and militarism.

The objection is often raised that the time required for the transformation of the prevailing property system is too long and that if we place primary emphasis upon the necessity of abolishing capitalism, war will overwhelm us long before socialism can be established. No Socialist doubts the possibility that war may come before heavy industry can be socialized. But the evidence seems conclusive that war is not going to be prevented, or even delayed appreciably, by superficial peace measures. Too often peace societies concentrate almost exclusively upon short next-steps and neglect to emphasize the necessity of making fundamental changes in the structure of the present economic order. If half the energy and funds which have gone into campaigns during the past 15 years for the entrance of the United States into the World Court, for reductions in armaments, for the outlawry of war, for the declaration of terms upon which the United States will enter the League of Nations, and for the investigation of munitions makers had been devoted to a continuing campaign of education and organization for the transformation of the prevailing property system, the peace forces of this country would be in an immeasurably stronger position to cope with the threat of war than they now are or are likely to become if they continue to ignore the necessity of radical economic changes.

2. A second emphasis which should be foremost in an effective peace program is the unequivocal repudiation of the policy of armed intervention in other lands and on the high seas in behalf of American property and life. The present Administration has gone a long way toward abandoning the practice of sending marines to other lands, but such a procedure could quickly be revived by this or a subsequent regime unless prohibited by legislative action. A determined effort should therefore be made to secure legislation embodying formal renunciation of the use of armed force in other countries by the United States. The renunciation of war as a means of national policy will possess



little significance until such action is supported by renunciation of armed force as an instrument of national policy. The need for legislation of this character is intensified by reason of the fact that Secretary of the Navy Swanson and some other members of the present Administration are publicly appealing for a larger navy to be used in support of national policy, and not merely for defense of the homeland.

If the United States becomes involved in another war, it is entirely probable that the chief cause will be controversy concerning neutral rights on the ocean. This country could have stayed out of the World War if Secretary Bryan's suggestion had been followed. If President Wilson had issued a proclamation warning American citizens that they must stay out of the blockaded zone or go at their own risk, we could have avoided the colossal losses which followed our entrance into the war. To abandon armed action in defense of property rights and as means of defense on the high seas is cheaper and more effective than to wage war for these purposes. The chances of peace being maintained would be greatly enhanced if legislation were enacted prohibiting the sending of armed forces beyond our own frontiers for any purpose whatsoever.

3. Disarmament, not merely reductions in armaments, is essential to the achievement of international peace. Campaigns for armed preparedness cannot be successful unless suspicion and fear are artificially engendered and unless chauvinistic nationalism is intensified. The state of mind thus produced by preparedness propaganda is itself a primary cause of war. The dangers that we confront as a nation are not derived from the vicious aggressiveness of an enemy country, but emerge from an international system of economics and politics which produces catastrophic explosions. The risk of colliding with another nation is enormously increased, not diminished, by armaments, and disarmament is a price of peace.

4. The strengthening of international agencies of justice is imperatively demanded. Recognition of the weaknesses and failures of the League of Nations as at present constituted should not cause us to underestimate the significance of international organization. War is a *method* of attempting to achieve justice and security which will not be abandoned until the respective nations are convinced that a more effective alternative is available.

The prospects of peace being maintained are diminished not only by the reluctance of the nations to have their sovereignty abridged, but also by their lack of confidence in the ability of the League of Nations to enforce its decisions. One horn of the dilemma appears to be the danger that the League will become a super-state which will interfere with national rights and interests, and the other that the League will remain

too weak to be effective in dealing with a recalcitrant power.

In an effort to cope with the latter weakness, the proposal is often made that an international police force or army be created and placed behind the League. To be effective such an armed body would have to be relatively more powerful than that at the disposal of any nation against which it may be directed. But if the League were provided with armed strength on this scale it would constitute such an ominous threat to national sovereignty that the respective nations are not likely to consent to such a procedure. If the nations were willing to abolish military air forces and to internationalize civil aviation, the League could undoubtedly use an international air police with devastating effectiveness. But if the nations were willing to strengthen the League to this extent, armed force of any kind would be absolutely unnecessary. Armed sanctions cannot be used by the League so long as national sovereignty and national armaments remain; and armed sanctions will not be required when national sovereignty is drastically abridged and when national armaments are substantially reduced. Wherever League armed policemen are needed they cannot be used, and wherever they can be used they are not needed. In the latter instance, the League could use irresistible moral pressure, diplomatic ostracism, and an economic embargo (not blockage or complete boycott). The essential problem therefore is not the creation of an international police, but the transforming of national policies sufficiently to make possible the granting of comprehensive jurisdiction to the League of Nations. And this end can be achieved only by drastic changes in the property system of the respective members of the League.

5. War resistance constitutes a fifth step. Let individual citizens of the various nations make up their minds that they are not going to sanction or engage in any future war and let them proclaim this determination from the housetops. Then let them organize for mass resistance to war. If powerful minorities of war-resisters can be organized within the labor movement, the churches, educational institutions, women's clubs and in other areas, their influence in hours of crisis may turn the tide against war. As a beginning, all persons who are clear in their minds that they will never approve of or participate in any future war should identify themselves with other pacifists. Two pacifist organizations in the United States are The Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York City; and the War Resisters' League, 171 West 12 Street, New York City. Both of these societies are international in scope, with members in a score of countries. If pacifists desire in times of crisis to exert maximum pressure for peace, let them hasten to band themselves together in a powerful war resisters' movement.



# A New Phase of Debt

H. N. BRAILSFORD

**A**FTER armaments, debts are, in the intercourse of nations in the contemporary world, the most formidable obstacles to goodwill. The American reader will think at once of the European, and more especially of the British, debts on which formal default has occurred. There are, however, more painful cases than this that force themselves on our attention. The British government has first threatened to take coercive measures of a very humiliating kind to recover from the favorable balance of Germany's trade with Great Britain sums sufficient to meet the service of the Dawes and Young loans. Its action is sharply criticized on various grounds by the Labor Party and by Liberals. It seems, in the first place, indefensible that a government which has itself defaulted on its debt to the United States should now play the merciless creditor to Germany. We of the Left are the last people to feel any excessive sympathy with the present German government, but we find it impossible to admire the conduct of our own. This is now the third time that it has brandished the big stick of economic coercion against another nation. It is still levying prohibitive duties on imports from the Irish Free State in order to collect a rather questionable debt. Last year it imposed an embargo on Russian trade because Russia had tried some British engineers on charges of espionage and sabotage, of which one of them at least was probably guilty. And now it is Germany's turn. Sir John Simon is the coldest of lawyers, but he threatens and coerces with a facility that no British Foreign Secretary has attained since the days of Palmerston.

One trusts that the negotiations that are about to begin may lead to a settlement. But if the British government should be obliged to make good its threat, it is not at all certain that it will reap any financial advantages. At present Germany sells more to us than she buys, and it looks as if the balance could be impounded to cover the interest on these loans. But will trade, if these coercive measures are applied, continue to flow placidly at the present level? The German government makes the counter threat that it will retaliate upon the trade of the British Empire as a whole, and here it has a position of strategic advantage, for it takes much wool from Australia, and on the balance buys more from the Empire than it sells to it. Nothing is certain, if a trade war were to start over debts, save that each side would be impoverished. The worst may not happen, but it is a mad world in which we have to face such possibilities.

These German debts run as a tragic thread through all our recent history. They explain Mr. MacDonald's treason and the fall of the Labor government. They are a symbol of the ascendancy which the City of London (as we call our Wall Street) exercises over our ruling class. Usury governs us. I find myself recalling what happened in 1931. The City had lent money lavishly to every species of German borrower, chiefly on short term accounts. The trouble was that it was not its own money that it lent. It borrowed from the thrifty French depositor at three per cent and then loaned what it borrowed to the Germans at eight per cent. This it described as British chivalry towards a beaten foe. I have referred to the City as "it," but it is no organized unit. It is a chaos of financial houses, great and small. Each acts for itself, when profit beckons, and no one knows what his neighbor does. There is no control, not even the check of trustworthy statistics.

**I**T looked like a profitable game till first a great Austrian and then a great German bank went smash, and presently all the German banks closed their doors. The French, watching these events, saw the Austrian, German and English banks roped together like Alpine climbers above a precipice. Two had fallen. Could the third hold its ground? The French withdrew their deposits from London. You could hear the airplanes scurrying daily across the Channel with their load of gold. The reserves of the Bank of England dropped like the glass before a storm, and then in its panic the City fell first on the Labor government and next upon the workers. Because it had borrowed at three, to lend at eight per cent, and sought its unearned profit without measure or control, the dole of the unemployed must be cut, and the Labor movement annihilated. Then Mr. MacDonald did the City's bidding, and now he is doing it again.

These Germans know no gratitude. They have ill requited the chivalry that borrows at three per cent and lends at eight. They now propose to go bankrupt—a fate that not seldom overtakes persons who must borrow at eight per cent. You know broadly what their case is. The slump overtook them, as it overtook us all. The world ceased to buy the exports which their recklessly expanded industry thrust upon it. The creditors who should be receiving their goods put up barriers of tariffs and quotas. Payment became a physical impossibility. So much the creditors themselves recognized, and they have agreed to a moratorium on



# Is Coercion Ever Justifiable?

KIRBY PAGE

**T**HIS generation threatens to destroy its own choicest values by the reckless use of violence. Greed creates fear, and fear resorts to violence. If life consists chiefly in grabbing for self, family, nation or race; and if competition and strife are encouraged and stimulated on every level; and if man's genius is prostituted to the search for annihilating weapons; and if the units of combat become more titanic in size and power; then the doom of our civilization is imminent. The futility and menace of ruthlessness are everywhere evident. Hanging and electrocution cannot hold back the crime wave; military and naval preparedness cannot afford security, and only accentuates the danger; suppression of civil liberties and resort to intimidation and brutality cannot preserve property rights and safeguard human values in industry. Urgently and desperately, this generation needs an effective alternative for violence.

Jesus' experience of God and his attitude toward men offer an inestimable contribution to modern society. To the degree that men live every day as good members of God's Home, greed and violence disappear. Does this mean, then, that Tolstoy was right in maintaining that every use of force and coercion is contrary to the spirit of Jesus and therefore immoral? That all depends upon whether or not coercion is necessarily a violation of the family spirit. If the answer is in the affirmative, the only consistent philosophy for a follower of Jesus is that of anarchism, and the only logical procedure that of withdrawal from all responsibility for and participation in organized society.

But the evidence does not drive us to such a conclusion. It is possible that coercion may be administered in such a way as to prove restraining and redemptive. Wherever in a home there is immaturity, lack of self-control, and anti-social stimuli, coercion may be necessary in order to safeguard the other members of the family, and to prevent remorse for irreparable wrongdoing. To say that restraint administered in love and with the welfare of all concerned vividly in mind is immoral, is to reduce society to anarchy and chaos.

For many decades to come certain criminals will have to be restrained by force if society is to be safeguarded and they are to be kept from evil-doing. The victims of greed and exploitation will never get justice solely by relying upon the vision and generosity of those who hold power and seek their own gain. Power is blinding and corrupting and causes the slave-owner to imagine that it is his duty to perpetuate slavery. The victims of imperialism, in a world where national

egotism and greed are rampant, must resort to coercive action if they are to secure freedom and justice. The British imperialist is conscientious in his determination to continue British rule in India, and Japanese militarists honestly consider themselves to be the saviors of Manchuria. Unless effective non-violent means of coercion can be devised and utilized, the victims of injustice will, in blindness and desperation, take up weapons of violence. In our kind of world, to rely upon anarchy and inaction is to turn the reins over to violence.

**W**ITH this dilemma in mind, let us turn again to Jesus' concept of God and his attitude toward wrongdoers. The God of Jesus is no soft, flabby sentimentalist. Jesus' picture of the judgment scene is terrifying in its severity. His own condemnation of the scribes and Pharisees is one of the most rigorous on record. His indignation flames in the presence of callous hypocrisy and cruelty. His whole life is a burning denunciation of iniquity and an indomitable resistance to evil.

If the family circle is to be extended beyond blood relatives and made to embrace men of all classes and races, effective social organization must be created and maintained by mutual goodwill, supported in emergencies and abnormal instances by ethical and effective restraints. Here we are confronted with one of the most urgent problems of our day. How can society restrain criminals, and restore them to right relations with their fellows, without vengeance in the form of a noose or an electric chair? How can the workers utilize the strike and other forms of economic coercion, and at the same time avoid hatred and violence? How can Mahatma Gandhi exert sufficient pressure through non-violent non-coöperation to secure freedom for India, without stimulating hatred and resorting to violence? How can the League of Nations bring sufficient moral, diplomatic and financial pressure to bear upon Japan to secure withdrawal of her troops from Manchuria and the restoration of political control to China, without precipitating war? Failure to find answers to these questions will insure chaos and warfare.

Our difficulty comes, of course, in deciding where ethical coercion ends and unethical violence begins. The only person who is able to escape from this dilemma is the complete anarchist who repudiates every form of restraint and compulsion—and such a man has no solution to offer for the imminently menacing problems of the hour. All other persons are obliged to draw the line somewhere, and orderly progress depends upon



the intellectual keenness and ethical sensitiveness with which the situation is confronted.

None of the three possible ways of dealing with social injustice can entirely prevent or remove human suffering. Resistance by violence tends to increase and intensify suffering; inaction or failure to exert effective restraint perpetuates the misery of the victims of crime or exploitation; non-violent coercion likewise often results in suffering. We are driven, therefore, to the conclusion that, in an imperfect and developing world, suffering is inescapable. The policy of wisdom is to use that method which involves a minimum of suffering and which offers a maximum of redemption.

**N**O method of dealing with crime can entirely eliminate suffering. Ruthlessness and capital punishment, on the one hand, and ineffective restraint, on the other, produce terrible havoc. The imprisonment of a criminal likewise causes suffering to his family and to the man himself. If, however, during the period of separation from society, redemptive processes—physical, educational, moral and spiritual—are brought to bear upon the evildoer, the result may be deliverance from anti-social tendencies or habits, and the restoration of the individual to his family and to society.

Failure to restrain greed and exploitation produces much misery, as does also resort to violent class warfare. The industrial strike likewise may and frequently does cause intense suffering, both to the public and to the strikers. But a non-violent strike may enable the exploited workers to gain more justice and fuller liberation from degradation. In spite of the fact that workers are often goaded to the point of desperation by misery, oppression, and the violent tactics used by employers, violence on their part seems ineffective and unethical. Likewise a strike that results in direct and inescapable starvation seems indefensible.

Imperialist powers are blinded by tradition, prestige and self-interest, and vainly imagine that it is for the good of humanity that they should perpetuate their rule and continue to bear "the white man's burden." Their assumption of superiority and the contemptuous way in which they often treat the "natives" is humiliating and degrading. Sensitive Indians, for example, are at the breaking point, and regard continued British domination as intolerable. Violent revolution is the historic method of handling such an inflammable situation. Mahatma Gandhi's campaign of non-violent non-coöperation is undoubtedly causing much suffering, both in England and in India. It is to be observed, however, that the additional unemployed in British textile areas are not starving, but constitute an extra burden upon the unemployment fund. To the extent that the people of India will follow Gandhi in refraining from hatred and violence, on the one hand, and refusing all coöperation with the British Government, on the other, they will be able to exert effective non-

violent pressure upon Great Britain. The strike and the non-violent boycott seem to be more ethical than acquiescence in an evil situation or the use of violence.

The continued military and political control of Manchuria by Japan will inflame Chinese nationalists and fan the flames of militarism and communism, thus causing terrible misery. The use of moral, diplomatic and financial sanctions by the League of Nations would undoubtedly produce suffering, but effective pressure can be exerted in ways that do not cause starvation. Eventual warfare on a terrible scale between Japan and China cannot be avoided if the former is permitted to seize Manchuria and rule it indefinitely. Nationalism is sweeping China and another ominous Alsace-Lorraine will be created. Yet Japan will not relinquish control unless coerced by the League of Nations and the United States. Moral condemnation, diplomatic boycott, and an embargo against Japanese silk would be sufficient to compel Japan to relinquish military and political control of Manchuria, with less suffering and more possibilities of a pacific settlement of the whole controversy than can be the case if no effective international restraint is offered, or if violent hostilities are resorted to.

**W**HAT, then, is the meaning of all this? Is coercion ever consistent with the family spirit, and may it be administered in a manner that is constructive and redemptive, rather than destructive and debasing? I am fully persuaded that the answer is in the affirmative. If this is sound reasoning, Jesus can aid us at three points: by helping us to avoid hatred, to repudiate violence, and to increase our willingness to accept whatever suffering comes from this combination of refusing to submit to evil and of refraining from hatred and violence.

In this setting the cross of Calvary assumes new meaning. Jesus refuses to accept the *status quo*, with all its injustice and misery. He refrains from hatred and violence, but attacks entrenched iniquity with the utmost vigor and abandon, thereby incurring the relentless hostility which results in his own crucifixion and the ruthless persecution of his followers. That is to say, acquiescence and inactivity would have been safer for him, but would not have removed the misery of the people. On the other hand, his non-violent assaults upon evil-doing causes his own early death and produces terrible havoc among his friends. He lives every day as a good member of God's Home, and is nailed to a tree.

The problem confronting present day followers of Jesus can thus be summarized: If we acquiesce in the presence of injustice and misery, we not only fail to remove exploitation and poverty, but we abdicate in favor of those who seek deliverance by violence. On the other hand, if we offer effective non-violent resistance, we may bring suffering upon both evildoers and



victims. If we are able to keep ourselves free from bitterness and vindictiveness, our procedure in every situation will be determined by our judgment as to which type of persuasiveness and which method of non-violent restraint are under the circumstances most ethical and most effective. We will then go forward, even if the journey leads to a cross. Without suffering there can be no redemption.

If we are to oppose evildoers, especially if we are to make use of non-violent methods of restraining wrongdoers, we must not only refrain from animosity, but must reveal our devotion to mankind by exhibiting a willingness to endure suffering, rather than submit to the exploitation of our fellows or retaliate with weapons of violence. The menace inherent in any form of coercion is greatly reduced if those who act in behalf of the victims of oppression voluntarily submit to suffering. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, furnishes the most illuminating contemporary example of vicarious

suffering. He is rigorously resisting British rule because of the deep conviction that freedom is essential to self-respect and the removal of the scourges which afflict the Indian people. To an amazing degree he has risen above hatred and enmity. In seeking liberty for his country, he utterly repudiates violence and war as methods of attaining the passionately desired end. Joyously he suffers imprisonment for his cause.

So we gain illumination as to the immensity of Jesus' contribution in setting before us a vision of the new society, and indicating ways and means of bringing it to pass. By his own experience of God and his estimate of man, by his emphasis upon and practice of brotherhood, by his repudiation of hatred and violence, while attacking with audacity deeply entrenched iniquities, and by his vicarious suffering on the cross, Jesus awakens, challenges and inspires us to take up our cross and follow in his sacrificially redemptive steps. Thus we are saved and thus society must be redeemed.

## The Social Value of Prayer and Worship

GEORGE A. COE

**H**AS the devotional life (a term here used to cover both private prayer and corporate worship) an unchanging base of its own on which to act with reference to social changes? Probably most persons would answer, "Yes." Though the earth should heave, and though the mountains should be cast into the midst of the sea, the heart that is stayed upon God would know no change—so they think. That is, the meaning of life would be unaltered; aspiration would not shift its direction; the objectives of religious consecration would be ever the same; what is recognized as divine in heaven or upon earth would show no shadow cast by turning.

If this view were true, prayer and worship would exert an undeviating pressure in one and the same social direction; at a time of social crisis we should need only to intensify our devotions, not to revise them. But it is not true. Religious devotion does not merely act upon social change; it is itself included within social change. A truism of history, yet to become a truism for our prayers, is that ideas of God and of the divine will are dependent for their content, as are other ideas, upon time, place, and circumstance. Prayer, according to its social setting, sanctifies the crowning of kings "by divine right," or the inauguration of presidents chosen by popular franchise; it relies upon God for security for wealth wrung from the poor, or it cries out for redress for the same poor; it beseeches one and the same God for victory of the Allies over the Germans, and of the Germans over the Allies. Our devotions, that is, are in part a

phase of our political, economic, racial, and other social habits. When these habits move, our devotions change; when our devotions change, it is a sign that these social habits are being modified.

That both private prayer and corporate worship might have a creative part in social reconstruction I am ready to maintain. But they cannot perform this function until they incorporate into themselves a principle of religious self-criticism and religious reconstruction that has no wide acceptance. A deeply religious orthodox Russian, one of the *emigres* who had been dispossessed by the revolution, once said to me that in the days of the terror their ancient God had been veritably their refuge and strength; that communion with him had sustained their spirits through otherwise unendurable horrors; that now in their exile and poverty he still was their comforter, and that they confidently looked to him to restore them to their native land, and to re-establish the rule of the czars. "You Americans cannot understand this last, I know," he added, "but the empire is a vital part of our religion." No, Americans do not readily understand how this can be so, yet their own religion commonly has a parallel attachment to an American economic and political system. As the God of Russian orthodoxy was and is the refuge and strength of White Russians, so conventional American Christians have been accustomed to regard their God as the giver and defender of capitalist "prosperity," and as the ultimate ground and support of the capitalist conception of ethics.



**N**OW that the futilities of capitalist industrialism are so plain that even he who runs may read; now that the world begins to realize that capitalism necessarily sets brother against brother; now that the imperative-ness of reconstruction is dawning upon large masses of the population, the question for us is whether private prayer and corporate worship will turn upon themselves, search out the points at which they are themselves implicated in the defects of capitalist society, and repent for being what they are. The essential prerequisite for social creativeness through prayer and worship is a repentant religion. We have not to apply a religion that we have, but to acquire a better religion.

"What!" someone will exclaim, "Is not a religion of love to God and to man sufficiently social?" The reply is that this is not the religion that we practice. We assent to this glorious formula; we have a sentimental attachment to a vague ideal that it suggests; but our real religion is revealed, not in our assents nor in our sentiments, but in our strenuities. Surely no one would claim that any widely practiced prayer and worship are as yet undergoing the birth-pains of a new economic order.

Repentance upon a scale sufficiently large to be important is by no means out of the question, however. It has begun already. To an extent that was unpredictable even as late as the nineties, the pulpit and religious bodies are speaking prophetically—that is, in terms of economic-ethical revolution. The complacently amiable God of the Victorian era is no longer possible except to belated bourgeois minds; instead, we are facing the exclusive alternatives of either a God of the kind of love that includes social justice or no God at all. The devotional phrases of yesterday, if we continue to use them, either take on meanings that are more and more remotely symbolical, or else they sound increasingly hollow.

The ecclesiastical situation is complex and partly obscure, but this, at least, is true: A vigorous and by no means small minority of both clergy and laity are conscious that they have come to a parting of the ways in their own piety, and that the point at which the roads diverge concerns the place of human personality within economic and political society. Further, the pressure of this issue is producing religious unrest and longing in many who do not define the source of their distress. Some, noting the current decline in "God-consciousness," fly to metaphysical theology for relief. Theistic anxiety has become one mark of current piety. Others betake themselves to the inner sanctuary, there, in individual isolation, apart from our history-making crisis, to cultivate a sense of God's presence. A still larger number build new sanctuaries of stone, wherein, by means of enriched liturgies, they seek a Godward uplift. All three of these types are endeavoring to resolve a strain that they do not diagnose; they are offering solutions for

a problem that they have not defined; they are in danger of unintentionally substituting an escape from the problem for a solution of it.

**I**F theology desires to be of significance for the devotional life, let it plunge into the inner, ethical dynamics of our social crisis. There it will find the main causes of the obscuration of men's sense of the divine. A society that is indulging in war and war-producing policies, practicing economic injustice in the name of ethical right, and maintaining political systems that assist the few to exploit the many will not acquire from metaphysics anything more than a pale and anæmic faith. Unless something divine be found at the core of our experience when we deal with these social conditions, our theism will contribute nothing vital to prayer or worship. O, you metaphysicians! If there be a God, he is in Harlan County, Kentucky. Show us him, that we may worship! If you cannot find him in Harlan County, your talk about the universe in general will not bring us to our knees.

What a pity it would be if the inner sanctuary, and likewise the church built with hands, should become a refuge from the strains of society instead of being a mode of entering more fully and more healthfully into them! But who can doubt that this danger is upon us? The movement for "the enrichment of worship" and "the return to the Gothic," the most conspicuous current development in American Protestantism, is particularly open to question. What is the relation of this movement to our social emergency? Do we here behold religion entering into social change, creating social change, transforming therefore the content of devotional thinking, and redirecting religious emotion? Is there repentance for being religious in the sense which yesterday gave to religion? Who worships in these temples by means of these liturgies? Are the persons who most smart under injustice sitting in the pews and speaking from the pulpit? Who pays the added expense of our enriched worship, and how did the givers of the money obtain it? What spiritual relation among men is established or confirmed by giving and receiving this money? Whose hands quarried from the hillside the stones that compose these walls? Was there any experience of God in the quarrying, dressing, and putting into place of these stones?

**T**HERE are some who say that we must get acquainted with God, and through this acquaintance receive power before we can be ready to take up the human problem. But this assertion of a "before" rests upon a misconception. Everything depends upon the *kind* of God we have in mind when we pray, and the kind of God never is determined for us in advance of our acquaintance with men, but in and through this acquaintance. It is, for example, through intercourse



## SIGNS OF THE TIMES

THOSE persons who interpret the Detroit Declaration of Principles as a plunge over the precipice should read an official Communist evaluation. The July issue of the *Communist*, organ of the American section of the Communist International, contains a 22-page estimate of the Socialist Party convention. From this onslaught, the following excerpts are taken:

The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party once more emphasizes the bankruptcy of social-democracy. Never have the claims of the S. P. to being a revolutionary working-class party proved more hollow; never have the Socialist drapings which the S. P. leaders of all shades hang over their policy of betrayal shown themselves more threadbare. The convention gave no evidence of an iota of genuine working-class policy. Its declarations and decisions, notwithstanding their "Left" semblance, are a tissue of evasions and subterfuges to put over the class program of the bourgeoisie. . . .

The celebrated "Declaration of Principles" which the Convention adopted, allegedly as a break with the reactionary "Old Guard," is in essence the old anti-socialism newly phrased. The Declaration is characterized by the omission of the very core of revolutionary Marxism—the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. . . . The Declaration speaks of the doom of capitalism, but it indicates no revolutionary way out. . . . The end of capitalism will come through its revolutionary overthrow by the working class in alliance with and leading the toiling masses of city and country. It will come through the establishment of the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Neither the road to proletarian power nor the objective itself, the dictatorship of the proletariat, is set forth among the "principles" of this "militant" Declaration. . . . Despite the thunder from the Right, despite the charges "Communism," "Bolshevism," on the part of the "Old Guard," the anti-war declaration of the Detroit convention is an admixture of the good old social-patriotism and social-pacifism in a new guise.

I HAVE read with amazement Comrade Waldman's interpretation of the Declaration (see page 376). It is not difficult to understand how in the heat of debate an opponent of the Declaration should characterize it as "communistic, anarchistic and illegal," but I literally gasped when I saw in cold type his deliberate repetition of these words. Certainly, mass resistance is illegal after war has been declared, but the very nature of conscientious objection to war is its illegality. It was for this reason that conscientious objectors were imprisoned in wartime. Gandhi's entire campaign of non-cooperation has been declared illegal by the British government. When war is raging the conduct of any person resolutely opposed to armed conflict will be considered illegal by the government. But it seems to me wholly unwarranted to assume that the Socialist Party would ever be called upon to defend terrorist tactics, when its entire history is opposed to such in-

sanity. The suggestion of Norman Thomas that an explanatory footnote be appended specifically disavowing any sanction of acts of terrorism is sound and should be adopted.

How Comrade Waldman finds "communism and anarchism" in the Declaration is simply beyond my understanding. He is no more resolutely opposed to the Communist strategy of civil war and dictatorship of the proletariat than I am. But that he is suffering from an hallucination will be clear to any reader who will turn to the Declaration itself (printed on pages 323 and 324 of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, June 28, 1934) and examine carefully its language. Not only is there no reference to violent seizure of power, nor to the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the evidence is overwhelmingly cumulative that the majority of members at Detroit who passed the Declaration did not hold the conviction that they were voting for these proposals. So convinced am I that Comrade Waldman is utterly mistaken in his interpretation that I hope the Declaration of Principles will be ratified by an overwhelming vote.

A CALL has been issued by the American League Against War and Fascism for a Second United States Congress Against War and Fascism, to be held in Chicago, on September 28, 29, and 30. It will be recalled that this is the organization from whose chairmanship J. B. Matthews resigned, and which other Left-wing Socialists likewise abandoned after the Communist effort to break up the Madison Square Garden demonstration in behalf of the victims of the Austrian terror. Mr. Matthews was succeeded as chairman by Professor Harry F. Ward. The latter regards the Socialist Party as so conservative that he does not feel justified in being a member of it. The list of signatories to the call for the Second Congress includes several leaders of the Communist Party and a larger number of Left-wingers who are not Communists.

This call again brings to the fore the question of the united front. Recent events have re-enforced the intensity of my conviction that it is unwise for pacifists and Socialists to work within organizations that are dominated by Communists and near-Communists. That an overwhelming proportion of the persons who attended the mass meetings of the First Congress were Communists and Communist sympathizers is beyond question. And many of the persons who are on the inside of the planning committee for the Second Congress are Communists or are highly favorable to communism. There is every reason to anticipate that the tone of the forthcoming assembly will be highly communistic. While there are absolute pacifists within the ranks of the conference committee, they are swamped by the number of individuals who are opposed to imperialist wars, but who are by no means pacifists in re-



as incarnations of the principle of evil, communism introduces a demonic cruelty into social life which only religion can supply. This kind of religion justifies any means which will annihilate the foe, since the foe is unqualifiedly evil and the victory of the good is unreservedly identified with the victory of the devotee's social group.

There is no question that this kind of religion gives power to those who accept it. It accounts for the military superiority of Mohammedanism in its prime. Laski is also quite right in attributing the military excellencies of Cromwell's Ironsides to it. Cromwell's military genius was of a high order, but he could not have won his victories against heavy odds without his certain faith that the Lord was on his side. Incidentally he could not have committed his depredations in Ireland with a good conscience had this faith not sustained him. That is the rub in this type of religion. Cromwell was an honest and devout soul; but from the perspective of Irish history he was a devil. So is every believer a devil, symbolically and actually, who can claim divine and ultimate significance for the partial and relative political values which claim his loyalty. It is the religious characteristics of Hitlerism which permit its inhumanities to the Jews, the Hitlerites having substituted for the rather plausible devil of capitalism the devil of international Jewry.

It follows then that the religious character of a political movement is the source of both its political strength and its demonic peril. It is this very element in politics which makes political struggles so brutal. Men are more brutal with each other than animals only when the impulses of nature in them have been falsely sanctified by spirit and they are led to imagine themselves the divinely appointed protagonists of a holy cause.

**I**F the demonic enters into human life through the religious sanctification of partial and relative values it can be exorcised from social life only by the worship of a God who transcends all partial and imperfect values. This accounts for the inability of Christianity at its best to identify itself completely with any political movement, a hesitancy which makes radicals so impatient and which deserves some of this impatience because it is frequently the screen for the social fears of privileged classes. Nevertheless life would sink to a consistent inhumanity if men did not have an object of worship and a source of meaning which transcended the values and objectives which any particular human social group may be able to project. Nor can this function of high religion be performed by critical scepticism. The worship of demons can be destroyed only by the worship of God. A negative scepticism toward unworthy objects of worship can hold religious hysteria in check only for a short time. This accounts for the fact that academic liberalism succumbed to the Nazi

religion in Germany while the Church, in spite of its moribund character, resisted it. It is therefore only religion, the high religion which worships a holy God before whom all men feel themselves sinners, that can maintain the elements of decency, pity and forgiveness in human life and can resist the cruelty and inhumanity which flows inevitably from the process that absolutizes some human values and identifies others with the very source of all evil.

The question arises, What is to be done if the source of inhumanity in a political movement is also the source of its power? Can the inhumanity be destroyed and the power be maintained? Not entirely. Men will never give themselves to a political movement with the same abandon if its tenets are not the sole source of the meaningfulness of life to them. Socialism as a political strategy is less potent than communism as a religion. But fortunately there are compensations for this loss of power. Communism is not only a bad religion; but it is in some of its aspects blind politics. Its dogmatic oversimplifications falsify the actual facts of Western civilization, and accordingly lead to faulty tactics. Chief among these is its strategy of driving all neutral and semi-neutral groups in a complex society into the camp of the reactionary foe. A greater soberness in politics may destroy a certain degree of political energy but it will increase the wisdom of statesmanship. The political loss in reducing the religious pretensions of communism ought not, therefore, to be regarded as very significant.

To deny the absolute pretensions of a political movement need not mean, as it does to some Christian theologians, that all relative and partial social values and objectives are to be declared equally insignificant or equally irrelevant before the ultimate value of highest devotion. All human morality consists in choosing relative excellencies. We may deny the Communist belief that the proletariat is a messianic class and still insist that the workers of the world are a class with a very fateful mission. Experience surely teaches them the reality of the injustices of capitalism more certainly than it does any other class. And their control of the means of production is the most significant social power, once the social power of mere ownership begins to disintegrate. It is therefore merely sober truth to regard the working class as group destined to a high fate in the history of contemporary civilization. There is bound to be political power in this sense of mission. The line between such a sense of mission and a religious belief in the messianic character of the proletariat is not always clear and is bound to be transgressed in the passion of political struggles. But it will make a great difference in the history of our civilization whether the philosophy which informs our radicalism proceeds from jealous religious assumptions or rests upon a secure foundation of sober social and political judgments.



lation to class war, and who would rally to the armed defense of Soviet Russia.

Great illumination is shed upon the question as to whether or not an effective united front can now be formed with Communists by Sidney Hook's article in the July issue of the *Modern Monthly*. Professor Hook is a Communist, although not a party member. His thesis is that a genuine united front is impossible so long as the Communist Party continues to regard all non-party members as "social-fascists." Stalin is quoted as saying: "Fascism is a fighting organization of the bourgeoisie, an organization that rests on the active support of social democracy. Social democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism. . . . These organizations do not contradict each other, but complete each other. They are not antipodes but twins. . . ." The official policy of the Communist International, of which the Communist Party of the United States is a section, is to attack all other political parties and groups as counter-revolutionaries and enemies of the working class. Vituperation and slander are continuously heaped upon Socialist parties, as well as upon leftist groups such as the Independent Labor Party and the American Workers Party.

While unceasingly waging warfare upon the leadership of all non-Communist groups, the various sections of the Comintern are constantly appealing to members of other groups for a united-front-from-below. Professor Hook shows incontestably that this policy is the chief barrier to working-class unity, and concludes: "The failure of the policy of the united front tactics of the Communist Party in the last year is documented in the latest instructions of the 13th Plenum of the ECCI, which once more calls for 'a united-front-from-below,' against and despite the wisest of the Social-Democratic leaders. . . . Judged by its fruits, the theory of social-fascism must be regarded as the political epitaph of the Communist International."

My conviction deepens that pacifists in general, and religious groups in particular, will do well to work

with agencies that are in sympathy with their pacifism and their religion, and not fritter away their energies in vain attempts to secure effective co-operation with Communist and near-Communist organizations.

*Kirby Page*

## When War Passions Were Inflamed

*Character Bad—The Story of a Conscientious Objector as Told in the Letters of Harold Studley Gray.* Edited by Kenneth Irving Brown. Harper & Bros. \$2.00.

**H**AROLD GRAY'S well-edited letters telling of his experiences as a conscientious objector in the World War are a modest but important contribution to war literature. They constitute the clearest revelations of which I am aware, of the mind of a religious conscientious objector who was not a narrow literalist or sectarian or fanatic. The son of a wealthy Detroit family, Gray, as a Y. M. C. A. secretary in England during the World War, learned to hate war. Back in America he was caught in the draft. He went through what were the usual experiences of conscientious objectors who felt obliged to decline non-combatant service or even alternative service. First segregated in a camp and then sent with a number of other conscientious objectors to Fort Riley, in Kansas, he was finally convicted for refusing to obey a military order—in this case to clean up a parade ground—and sent to Fort Leavenworth military prison for 25 years. His experience is proof of the war hysteria. Final sentence on Gray was not passed until November 15, four days after the Armistice was signed. He was confined for no reason at all for a longer time than other conscientious objectors guilty of the same sort of offense, in various military prisons, and was finally discharged on September 5, 1919, almost a year after the Armistice had been signed.

Gray's letters contain an admirable statement of the reasons why he was a conscientious objector and of the calm heroism with which he faced long imprisonment and possible death. (It was the latter penalty that the prosecutor asked.) It is in part a tribute to Gray's personality and in part simply good fortune that his experiences in prison involved less brutality than was suffered by some of his comrades. His letters show singularly little bitterness. At one time in Fort Riley, impatient with the long delay of the Government to act definitely, he joined a group of men engaged in a hunger strike. But he later abandoned this strategy, which he had come to regard as a mistake.

Without conscious irony, Gray was discharged by an army that gave him the rating: "Character—Bad." The reader of the book will judge the nature of war in the light of the verdict which the army passed on the author of these letters. The book is not a reasoned indictment of war as a social institution. It is not a program of peace, or even a history of conscientious objection in America. It is a simple and sincere record of a brave spirit who felt that in the light of his religious convictions for him to submit to conscription was "to surrender his self-respect and to live a lie." At a time when one of our main hopes of peace must be a dependence upon a multitude of young men who will announce in advance that they will not be dragooned or conscripted into the homicidal mania of new war this record of what happened to one

## One Dollar Brings You THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM

By FRED HENDERSON

A splendid guide for Socialists  
146 pages (paper cover)

and

## THE WORLD TOMORROW

For Six Months

*The World Tomorrow, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.*



conscientious objector will be particularly valuable. In the next war the fate of these men will be worse. Their task—and ours—is to prevent that war!

NORMAN THOMAS

## Hitlerland

*Nazism: an Assault on Civilization.* Edited by Pierre van Paas-  
sen and James Waterman Wise. Smith and Haas. 313  
pages. \$2.50.

*Nazi Means War.* By Leland Stowe. Whittlesey House. 142  
pages. \$1.50.

*Germany Prepares for War.* By Ewald Banse. Harcourt, Brace.  
357 pages. \$3.00.

*Democracy and Nazi-ism.* By G. George Fox. Argus Book Shop.  
80 pages. 75 cents.

THE picture which these volumes draw of Hitler Germany is dark indeed. It is what the Nazis call "Greuelpropaganda." Yet it is hard to get around the statements of fact in these books, especially since so many of them are based on the writings and public utterances of Nazi leaders and on the sane, balanced reporting of experienced and scholarly observers and correspondents.

The symposium on "Nazism" includes many well-known names—John Haynes Holmes, Stanley High, Samuel Guy Inman, Alfred E. Smith, Ludwig Lewisohn, Stephen S. Wise, and others. The total picture—both an accusation and an outraged declaration of conscience—is utterly damning. Liberty has been crucified, religion has been debased, women have been enslaved, culture has been degraded, the worker has lost all rights, the Jews, pacifists and radicals have been persecuted—and all in the interest of a stupid, irresponsible, and reactionary totalitarian state and a romantic, pseudo-scientific race theory. There are also several contributions which show how far the Brown Poison has seeped into other states, both in Europe and in America. This very readable book deserves widespread circulation.

Leland Stowe, a seasoned reporter of much experience, spent two months of intensive work in Germany in order to write his book. He dwells longest on German militarism, and his discoveries include not only a host of bitter fighting men and munitions factories ready for any "emergency," but also schoolboys at practice throwing wooden hand-grenades.

If Stowe's picture leaves any doubt as to the new militarism in Germany, Professor Banse's book (German title: *Raum und Volk im Weltkriege*) ought to dispel this. Banse was professor of Military Science at Brunswick Technical College and he has an important following. Since his book attracted widespread attention in other countries, it was suppressed in Germany and Banse was removed from his teaching position in Brunswick. Banse is a typical militarist, logical to a fault, an inhuman gambler with human lives, a believer in heroic warrior races, a revived Bernhardt. By every means Germany must be made a military nation, he believes, and he would employ "every thought or aspiration or activity" for this purpose. His program includes the reunion of all the 92 million German-speaking people of Central Europe as "the proper territory of a true Third Reich." Curiously enough, Banse is by no means the most ferocious of the fire-eaters in Nazi Germany.

George Fox's pamphlet is a plea for democracy over against "Nazi-ism." In an intelligent survey he points out what democratic countries would lose in adopting fascism, and he pleads in a rather romantic way for "the land of the free and the home of the

brave," without bothering about those social and economic cancers eating at the vitals of democracy which have in no small measure contributed to the rise of fascism. Fascism is, at least in part, due to the failures of democratic government in dealing with the urgent social and economic problems of an irresponsible capitalism. Democracy will live only by facing and eliminating these evils.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

## CORRESPONDENCE

### Another Echo from Detroit

ALTHOUGH I believe that the Detroit Socialist convention missed a great opportunity when it failed to use as the basis for a platform the Paul Porter Commonwealth Plan, and although I wish that the Declaration of Principles might be translated into English and otherwise clarified, I nevertheless supported the Declaration and see no reason for changing my opinion.

I confess a marked degree of astonishment at the "tempest in a teapot" raised by the conservatives who, having blocked proposals to amend the document, are now spending their pocket-book and mental substance in the effort to defeat it. Their first attack is upon the pledge of the Socialist Party to support, in the event of war, any comrades who, for "anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service, come into conflict with public opinion or the law." While we may well trust the interpretation of our National Executive Committee with regard to the validity of such claims for support, it is obvious that a slight revision, for instance the insertion of the words "genuinely Socialistic" before the word "anti-war," would preclude the necessity for our defending irresponsible members caught throwing bricks through the windows of the War Department offices.

The suggested employment of "massed war resistance" seems to have struck terror into the hearts of the conservatives. This proposal, I submit, looks forward to a future in which Socialism will have the "masses" with which to oppose capitalistic war. Mass action without adequate backing is a manifest absurdity. If our country should be involved in war, any loyal Socialist would be liable to imprisonment. It is hardly conceivable, however, that Socialists, during so-called peace times, will be thrown into jail or compelled to go underground on account of their expressed determination to use "massed war resistance, organized, so far as practicable, in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups."

Perhaps I am dumb, but I am unable to comprehend why the expression "replacing the bogus democracy of parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy" should prove so disconcerting to our "view-with-alarm-ers" of the Right-wing. Is any Socialist so blind as not to recognize the bogus features of a democracy that denies the rights of citizenship to Negroes in the South and, in some sections, to all those unable to pay a poll tax? Many other instances of "bogus democracy" might be cited, including the preponderating influence of wealth in our legislative, judicial and executive machinery.

"If," says the Declaration, "the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit orderly procedure, the Socialist Party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule." This pronouncement, according to the objectors, is insurrectionary, it is communism, it is a dictatorship of the proletariat. A recent Right-



# Socialism Versus Communism

KIRBY PAGE

**W**HO is to be master of our economic resources? This is the primary social question with which we are now confronted. Professor Gardiner Means of Columbia University has computed that the 200 largest corporations in the United States control more than one-third of the business wealth of the nation, and that these 200 corporations are themselves controlled by 2,000 directors. These men, through the device of the interlocking directorate, also exercise enormous influence over innumerable other corporations, and have much to say about the relative rates of dividends and wages. Professor Slichter, of Harvard, in a notable article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, has summarized the evidence which shows that in 1930 the dividends paid by the corporations of the United States were 65 per cent higher than in the prosperity year 1928, while wages dropped 19 per cent during the same period.

In seeking to remove the menace of consolidated money power and to equalize privilege, Socialists propose to take nine steps, immediate and ultimate. The most urgent of these measures is direct relief for the unemployed. From 20 to 30 millions of people in the United States now live in families that are being cruelly victimized by involuntary unemployment. The need is so abysmal that charitable organizations are unable to make proper provisions, and numerous municipalities are reaching the limit of the taxing and borrowing power. Huge appropriations from the Federal treasury are imperatively demanded if wholesale starvation and numberless deaths from malnutrition are to be avoided this winter. Socialists are opposed in principle to charity, but the failure of capitalism is so complete that other measures cannot be inaugurated with sufficient speed to provide for prevailing destitution.

A national and comprehensive scheme of social insurance is a second measure advocated by Socialists. The unavoidable risks of an industrial civilization must be shared by society rather than left to menace the individual victim. Steps should forthwith be taken to launch a national system of insurance covering health, accidents, unemployment, old age, and maternity, heavily supported by state and national subsidies. In the third place, there should be a drastic and rapid extension of public privileges in the realms of health, recreation, culture and education. More and more of the privileges of life should be made available for all through the coöperative channel of public funds.

The present emergency demands national and state bond issues on a substantial scale in order to provide

funds with which to extend public works, thus providing employment and carrying forward socially advantageous enterprises, including highways, afforestation, irrigation, river control, and dams for water power. Municipal housing on a vast scale is needed and could absorb considerable numbers of unemployed. A nation that can raise 20 billion dollars in bond issues for war purposes can and should issue bonds to the extent of five or 10 billions for the double purpose of providing employment and making available socially constructive and redemptive facilities.

**S**Ocialists recognize the imperative need for a triple organization of workers, consumers and voters if an equitable distribution of the proceeds of industry is to be secured. Collective bargaining on the part of workers through their own national unions is indispensable. The class-consciousness of owners and employers must be offset by class-consciousness on the part of workers, and the units of organized labor must be as extensive and powerful as the units of organized capital through giant corporations and employers' associations. As long as labor remains unorganized, the tyranny of money will remain unbroken. The organizing of the consumers in local, regional and national coöperative societies is likewise urgently required. The economic power of organized workers and consumers must be supplemented by pressure on the part of organized voters. The strengthening of the Socialist Party therefore becomes of paramount importance. When this triple organization is sufficiently advanced, a pacific revolution can be achieved in the distribution of privilege and power by combining economic and political pressure.

Socialists believe that taxation should be regarded as an instrument of social policy and used deliberately and resolutely as a means of breaking the stranglehold of great wealth, while providing necessary funds with which to make available advantages and privileges for citizens in general. Progressive income and inheritance taxes are constitutional and may be used rigorously. If the Socialists were in political control, it would be possible to tax the upper brackets so heavily that no individual could legally receive an income beyond the limit fixed—say \$25,000 or \$10,000 or even less. It would likewise be possible through taxes upon inheritances to take all of an estate beyond the legal limit, perhaps \$100,000 or \$25,000 or less. Land taxes should be imposed in such a way as to lift the burden from small holdings and to consume the unearned increment arising from increased land values.



# Headlines

## Union Labor Under Germany's Stress

A falling off of 12.3 per cent in membership of the German unions affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, or a drop from 4,716,569 in 1930 to 4,134,902 in 1931, is regarded by experienced labor observers in Germany as indicative of unsuspected strength and tenacity in the workers' movement. Fighting against unprecedented odds, they have maintained their ranks intact as compared to the years of the currency collapse between 1922 and 1924, when the figure fell from 7,800,000 to a little more than 4,000,000. Although many unions were compelled to cut down benefit rates or to shorten benefit periods, they were still able to pay out to workers the substantial sum of 50,981,778 marks, or about \$12,770,000.

## Swiss Labor Gains

In spite of the depression, according to the International Federation of Trade Unions, the I. F. T. U. unions in Switzerland have been able to increase their membership by 12,000 in the past year and also to show successful results in the field of labor disputes. Figures from the National Center indicate that 455 disputes occurred in 1931, involving 14 trade unions and 72,000 workers. Many struggles did not have to proceed to the strike stage, but were settled by preliminary negotiation. The strikes averaged a duration of fourteen days, and about 96,000 Swiss francs (\$19,200) was paid out by the unions in strike pay. Of the total number of 455 disputes, 43 per cent came to a successful conclusion, 35 per cent brought partial success, and 11 per cent were failures, the rest being carried over for later settlement at the time these figures were compiled. No fewer than 154 controversies led to a rise in wages, affecting 10,000 workers.

## Not Since 1902

Farm wages have dropped to the lowest general level in thirty years, says the Department of Agriculture, being only 87 per cent of pre-war wages. The drop during the past year was 29 per cent.

## In Britain Too!

Out of every pound of national expenditure, reports the London *New Leader*, if the self-supporting services are omitted, twelve shillings and one penny goes to pay for past, present, and future wars, leaving seven shillings and elevenpence for all home needs.

## Commonwealth College Forges Ahead

This school for workers at Mena, Arkansas, which was founded in 1923 and has struggled against terrific odds, is beginning its new year in a vastly improved situation, though the need for funds is still great to cover the \$2,500 gap between receipts from tuition and upkeep. In order to accommodate 60 to 75 students, a new dormitory is projected. Meantime, through capital equipment made available last year by the Mrs. Leonard Elmhirst Committee and the Carnegie Corporation, in the words of the school's fortnightly, "Commoners are able to read by electric lights in the library, admire ice cubes floating in the water pitcher, seek the embrace of machine-washed linen, and drink deep-well water filtered and conveyed by a pressure system. Next winter they will dine on tomatoes, green beans and apple butter put up in the college cannery, fatten on potatoes kept whole and dry by a concrete floor, and scrub themselves nonchalantly under a new hot shower while winter winds cavort outside."

## Five Hundred Economists Speak Out

In an open letter 500 economists urge the American voters to support the platform of the League for Independent Political Action and to cast their ballots for Thomas and Maurer.

## Seventy Millions Buy Coöperatively

The world-wide coöperative movement now has more than 70 million participants, reports the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1930 the total volume of business was in excess of 17 billion dollars.

## Future Water Power

The Federal Government has reserved nearly seven million acres of land in 21 states for future power reservoirs, according to information released by the Geological Survey. The potential capacity of these future reservoirs is estimated at 15 million horsepower.

## Socialist Party on Prohibition

The referendum on the liquor plank of the Socialist Party resulted in a three to one vote by party members throughout the country that the plank be retained in the platform. Thus the official position of the Socialist Party is that the 18th Amendment should be repealed and replaced by government ownership and control of the liquor industry, with measures safeguarding the right of "each state to maintain prohibition within its borders."

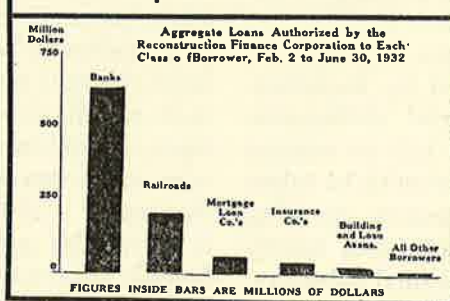
## The American Dole

The first consignment of 40 million bushels of wheat put at the disposal of the Red Cross from the supply of the Federal Farm Board has been distributed to more than three million families. In certain quarters astonishment has been manifested at the statement by Red Cross officials that the second allotment of 40 million bushels "will amply meet all anticipated needs for the fall and winter."

## Peruvian Socialist's Fate in Doubt

The brilliant radical leader and Socialist candidate for the presidency of Peru, Haya de la Torre, is still in prison and is held incommunicado, having, it is thought, escaped execution, which was the fate of many so-called and some genuine Communists who led a popular uprising against the bloodthirsty Peruvian dictatorship. De la Torre himself is known to be not a Communist, as contended in official reports from the Peruvian autocracy, but has been endeavoring, as he has stated, to build in Peru a party similar to the British Labour Party. It has been reported that he is on a hunger strike in protest against the treatment being meted out to him, but his present condition and his ultimate fate are not determined.

## Who Got the First Billion of Reconstruction Finance Corporation Funds?



The banks got \$643,000,000 (including \$80,000,000 voted by the then president of the Reconstruction Finance Corp., Charles Gates Dawes, to his own bank, the Central Trust Co. of Illinois).

The railroads got \$214,000,000.

Mortgage loan companies got \$74,000,000.

Insurance companies got \$63,000,000.

Building and loan associations got \$52,000,000.

Unemployed workers did not get a loan of a red cent.

—From *America For All*.



Various excess and luxury taxes are also available and may be used effectively. By this combination of taxes incomes may be revolutionized within two years and wealth redistributed within two generations. The latter process may be speeded up by resorting to the capital levy if this seems desirable.

The progressive extension of public ownership and operation of land, natural resources, public utilities and basic industries is a cardinal plank in the Socialist platform. In the United States at the present time the following industries are "ripe" for nationalization: banking, water power, coal mines, railways, telephones and telegraph, and various other public utilities. Socialists would eliminate private profit entirely from these industries, and as rapidly as experience justified would extend public ownership and operation to the other major means of production and distribution. Progress in these directions will make possible social planning on an effective scale. The motivation of private gain, the method of competition, and the theory of *laissez faire*—the spinal cord and nervous system of capitalism—make impossible adequate social planning. Nothing short of advanced Socialism will provide satisfactorily for planned production and distribution.

The ninth step proposed by Socialists is the removal of the menace of militarism, imperialism and chauvinistic nationalism. They would prevent war-fortunes and illicit gains from imperialism by destroying the war system. The Socialist Party is vigorously pacifist and in favor of complete disarmament by agreement or example. It is opposed to armed intervention in other lands, and advocates the removal of all our military forces from Haiti, Nicaragua, China and other foreign countries. It is committed to immediate independence for the Philippines.

THE Communist method of reaching the goal of a classless society is through class-war. To class-consciousness the Communist Party would add class-hatred and class-warfare. The seizure of power by violence and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat are considered necessary by Communists. "The capitalist class," writes William Z. Foster, Communist candidate for President, "like an insatiable blood-sucker, hangs to the body of the toiling masses and can be dislodged only by force. . . . It is the Communist parties in the other countries, led by the Communist International and supported by the masses, that will strike the death-blow to world capitalism. . . . To put an end to the capitalist system will require a consciously revolutionary act . . . the working class cannot itself come into power without civil war . . . the proletarian dictatorship must be supported by the organized armed might of the workers, soldiers, local militia, etc. In the early stages of the revolution, even before the seizure of power, the workers will

organize the Red Guard. Later on this loosely constructed body becomes developed into a firmly-knit, well-disciplined Red Army." That is to say, the Communist Party proposes to utilize the military method in seeking to create the classless society.

The Communist Party does not confine its hostility to capitalism; it is also ruthless in its attacks upon the Socialist Party. The organ of the Communist Party, *The Daily Worker*, is venomous in its onslaughts against Norman Thomas and other Socialists. Candidate Foster is more restrained, but even he does not pull his punches, as may be seen: "The Socialist parties of the world are the third parties of capitalism. . . . They are a part of the capitalist machinery for taking the bread out of the mouths of the workers and their families, the principal barrier to the revolution. . . . The Socialist Party stabs the working class in the back." Michael Gold, another outstanding American Communist, says: "You ask for a few reasons why Communists oppose Socialists and pacifists. Main reason: these two groups emasculate, betray and mislead the working class. They are the final hurdle which the working-class must leap, the final weakness which must be cut out, like a cancer, before the workers can take power. . . . Pacifism is always anti-working-class, in effect and deed. . . . Pacifist socialism always makes the road easier for fascism. . . . Pacifism is a defense of the *status quo*."

THE Communist Party proposes, if it succeeds by violence in capturing control of society, to suppress relentlessly all opposition, including the Socialist Party. Listen again to Mr. Foster: "Under the dictatorship all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist Party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses . . . what stupidity it would be for the victorious workers, whose aim it is to liquidate all classes, to permit these counter-revolutionary elements to organize themselves into political parties and thus enable them to sabotage the new regime, to fight for the re-establishment of their system of robbing the workers and generally to act as a barrier to the progress of the new society. . . . Religious schools will be abolished and organized religious training for minors prohibited. Freedom will be established for anti-religious propaganda. . . . God will be banished from the laboratories as well as from the schools."

The Communist Party of Soviet Russia is regarded as the ideal by American Communists. They assume that the strategy by which the old regime in Russia was overthrown will be effective in the United States. Socialists, however, believe that this assumption is entirely fallacious and highly dangerous. The latter point out that the opposition to the Bolsheviks in Russia was relatively weak, due to the utter collapse of Czardom under the intolerable weight of the war-



## THE WORLD TOMORROW

burden and to centuries of corruption and tyranny. In the United States, however, for an indefinite period in the future the opposition to a Communist seizure of power will be terrific. The idea that capitalism in this country is now afflicted with dying convulsions is nonsense. A Communist revolution would instantly drive America into the arms of fascism, and the uprising would be crushed ruthlessly by the army and state troops, reenforced by hired guards and patriotic volunteers. The weapons at the disposal of the owning class would prove to be annihilating.

Even if the Communists succeed in winning over a portion of the army, navy, and state guards, a prolonged civil war would be required before the dictatorship of the proletariat could be firmly established. The middle class in this country constitutes a considerable proportion of the entire population. The home-owning farmers likewise form an extremely significant part of the nation. To imagine that the middle class city dwellers and farmers will throw their support behind a Communist revolution is sheer romanticism and has absolutely no basis in reality. The endeavor to arouse the twelve millions of Negroes in this country to participate in violent class war is fraught with infinite possibilities of tragedy.

Even under the most favorable conditions the Communists could not win until after months and perhaps years of bloody civil war. The effects of such a conflict would be ghastly beyond exaggeration. The United States is now highly industrialized and highly urbanized. Its people cannot be kept alive except through the smooth functioning of an intricate and delicately adjusted system of production and distribution. Prolonged civil war would result in wholesale starvation, in addition to the annihilation of multitudes who would be slaughtered with poison gas and other devastating weapons of modern warfare.

The Communists accept unqualifiedly the doctrine that the end justifies the means; that is, they take over bag and baggage the military method. To members of the Third International, as to soldiers at the front, the law of necessity transcends ethical principles, and that practice is regarded as moral which leads to victory. The writer once listened for an hour to a high official of the Red Terror as he described how they saved the St. Petersburg Revolution by sending armed workers throughout the city dealing out death to members of the old regime and striking terror into the ranks of counter revolutionaries. In reply to the question, "How many men did you kill?" he replied: "As many as we needed to." This is, of course, identically the same attitude as that displayed by army officers on war duty. General Foch did not rejoice over rivers of German blood, but merely considered slaughter a tragic necessity.

It is thus evident that militarists and patriots who sanction the war system are not in a favorable position

to condemn Communists for following their own example, and merely substituting class enemies for national enemies. Pacifists, however, who repudiate the war system under all circumstances, can consistently say that the method used by Communists is highly unethical and unjustifiable. Ages of experience have shown that the effort to remove injustice and create a new world by hatred among citizens and slaughter on the battlefields is doomed to failure. War sows the seeds of its own perpetuation and can never be ended by war. Evil cannot permanently be cast out by doing evil. The new society cannot rest securely upon foundations of hatred and war and terror. The rains will descend and the winds will blow, and that house will crash because it is founded upon sand.

The Socialists, therefore, utterly reject the Communist method of violent revolution on pragmatic grounds as well as from ethical considerations. The effort to create by violence a classless society in this country within the next three or four decades is simply fantastic—and the endeavor is wholly unnecessary. In a much shorter time the methods advocated by the Socialist Party will lead far down the road toward an equitable and classless society which will function on the principle: "from each according to his ability, and to each according to his need." Surely it is far easier and more desirable to persuade America to adopt the Socialist program than it is to attempt revolution by violence.



### Bread-Line

WITH such a weary shuffle, Fate  
May hide within a desolate  
Bread-line; and shambling steps like this  
May be the march of Nemesis;  
That bleary look of eyes may be  
The cheating gaze of Destiny;  
The sound of dragging feet may make  
A world of tyrannies to quake;  
And drooping shoulders hide the strength  
To build the world anew at length.  
Be careful of this bread-line's tread:  
Its ragged disinherited  
May be disguising might of kings,  
For all their sullen mutterings.  
Look close, as near the bread-line comes,  
For Cromwells in the clothes of bums.  
Look close: for, as the outcasts brood  
And starve (because there's too much food),  
These tattered and these outlawed chattels  
May flash forth, heroes, girt for battles,  
Where trumpets rally comrades, when  
Man fights to free himself from men!

LOUIS GINSBERG



where arrangements were made for a camp site. But here they were met by State Highway Police who prevented them from turning south and directed them to the east. At Mulkeytown they were met with a thug army equipped with every known sort of weapon. Cars were fired into, many were shot, cars were demolished and the caravan was broken up. Thus far not a single State authority has attempted to ascertain the facts or prosecute the guilty parties. Thus has been established the right to shoot into cars on the public highway with the approval of men sworn to uphold the law.

Later an armed group of company union men attempted to hold a mass meeting in Springfield to induce the men to return to work under the domination of the company union. In a riot that followed a policeman was killed and several of the Progressive men were shot. Everybody in Springfield knows who shot the policeman, and while the gunmen were locked up over night, the Insull-controlled Peabody Coal Company was able to prevent any attempt at prosecution—proving that political domination is more effective than industrial control.

The crux of the entire conflict, then, is this contract that Democratic appointees contend is a lawfully executed document. Fraudulently made, it nevertheless has the endorsement of General Johnson and forms the basis of the so-called code. There is not now, and never has been since this controversy began, a properly drawn contract between the miners and the Peabody Coal Company.

**I**N order to retain power over the industrial situation in Illinois it was necessary to get control of the political forces also. The case of Frank L. Smith, chairman of the Illinois commission in control of rates and then a candidate for United States Senator, was financed by Insull to the extent of \$160,000. In order that no slip-up might occur, Insull also contributed to the election of the Democratic candidate, Brennan. Aldermen, legislators and countless other officials and quasi-officials were the beneficiaries of this corrupt aggregation.

The Speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives at that time was charged with the responsibility of looking after legal matters at the State House, while the minority leader, a former Lieutenant-Governor and dozens of others were willing recipients of the Insull largesse. The Springfield City Attorney, who had been active in putting over a program of public ownership, was found to have deserted to the Insull camp at a salary said to have been over \$30,000 a year. The Mayor of Springfield was promoted to the editorship of the trust-owned paper at an advanced salary, and a former United States District Attorney who had announced at the close of his first term that he did not care to be reappointed was found to have moved into

the Insull building as attorney for Peabody Coal. In short, if there was anybody for sale that Insull or his gang did not buy, it was because he could not be used.

In the light of past experiences, therefore, it is not surprising that the sheriff of this county has been doing the bidding of Peabody-Insull in protecting the miners brought here from the ends of the earth to take the places of the men on strike. These men work under guard. No union man ever worked under the protection of guards or militiamen. No union man ever will.

Ever since the Insull gang invaded this district, its sinister influence has been at work. Its contributions to campaign funds have had much to do with decisions made by men in office. A statement recently made to an aspirant for office reflects in a measure the general attitude. One who was sympathetic with the miners' position, as opposed to the Company influence, stated that it was a pretty good investment for the Company to contribute \$60,000 and get the services of the state militia, costing the state a half-million dollars, to which the politician replied: "I think you're mistaken; I believe it was only \$50,000 they put in." If Insull will tell the story in full at his trial, we should get a fairly accurate picture of the effect on politics of capitalism in one of its most virulent aspects.

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES

**E**VIDENCE of the rapid disintegration of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain is becoming impressively cumulative. In our last two issues attention was called to its disastrously poor showing in two recent by-elections. Now comes news that the I. L. P. candidate at Merthyr Tydfil was not only beaten, but polled such a small number of votes that he forfeited his election deposit. The significance of this fact is deepened when we remember that this is the constituency long represented in Parliament by Keir Hardie and that for more than 30 years it has been an I. L. P. stronghold. The community is terribly stricken by unemployment and is regarded as one of the most revolutionary centers in the British Isles. Yet the I. L. P. candidate polled only 3,508 votes, as contrasted with 18,645 for the representative of the British Labor Party, and 10,376 for the Liberal candidate. The Communist representative received 3,409 votes. The by-election was made necessary by the death of R. C. Wallhead, who had been elected as an I. L. P. representative, but who resigned from that party shortly after its plunge Communist-ward. Let American advocates of violent seizure of power take note that the combined I. L. P.-Communist vote was only 19 per cent of the total—and this in a revolutionary center.



THE current issue of the *Adelphi* brings news of the formation of a new Socialist party by dissident members of the I. L. P. The I. L. P. hived off from the British Labor Party, and now 70 secessionists have hived off from the I. L. P. The conviction grows upon me that if revolutionists were wise they would divide themselves into just two political parties—one that seeks revolution by reliance upon parliamentary processes and the economic and industrial power of organized labor and organized consumers, and another that holds the view that violent seizure of power and the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship will be required. I cannot understand how these diametrically opposite strategies can be harmoniously and effectively combined, but secessions from these primary groups appear to be the essence of futility. The Socialist League, working within the British Labor Party, can achieve results far transcending in significance the achievements of the I. L. P. or the new Independent Socialist Party.

A REJOINDER in an open forum in Atlanta during the past week sheds light upon the popular attitude toward President Roosevelt. In seeking a basis of judgment as to the ultimate significance of the New Deal, I asked members of the forum if they knew the President's attitude on the following points: Does he favor public ownership or private ownership of natural resources and the primary means of production and distribution? Does he desire to preserve or to abolish the profit system? Does he seek to eliminate or to enforce competition? Does he desire to abolish great fortunes? When I cited evidence to show that the President does not desire to end capitalism but to stabilize it by pruning its excesses, I was accused with much heat of being unfair to Mr. Roosevelt. Since when has it been regarded as an injustice to a President to say that he desires to preserve capitalism?

*Kirby Page*

## Mars

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

**S**TABBED by the vision of a world on fire  
And smoldering towns and kingdoms shrieking  
"War!"

Smelling the smoke; hearing a maniac choir  
Shout for the crackling dome, the splintering spire,  
I stood transfixed and bowed by what I saw.

Spellbound I watched; and viewed, as in a trance,  
The whole great earth unroll before my glance,  
Crossed with a crazy-quilt of stripes and squares,  
Each with a label—"Austria," "Poland," "France"—  
And each encompassed by red signal flares  
And walled about with a gaunt rocky fence  
On which a crimson-lettered sign was reared:  
"Here is the altar we have most revered,  
The tower of our strength and eminence."

Behind each barrier, in a grumbling rage,  
A form half beast, half human, prowled and fumed,  
Part like a grizzly padding in a cage,  
Part like a convict iron walls have doomed,  
Sometimes with muzzle of the wolf or bear,  
Sometimes with features biting as a sword,  
But always one that hosts acclaimed as lord,  
And always with bold menacing eyes whose glare  
Sullenly warned "Beware!"  
Above each Titan figure flags were streaming  
With patterned colors—scarlet, white and blue—  
And herds of men, like moths before their gleaming,

Wheeled into serried columns for review.

They gathered bombs and spears,  
They wielded knives and guns,  
And called into the ears  
Of daughters and of sons,  
"O men and women of heroic line,  
Give of your blood, and make your death divine,  
Give for your fatherland, that through your tears  
We may be granted brave, victorious years!"  
And all the hosts replied  
With howlings of acclaim,  
And cried and fiercely cried  
Their nation's god and name,  
Then, led by that half-beast, half-human form,  
They mounted in a thick, torrential swarm  
Upon the fences marking off their share,  
And on each boundary wrote, "No thoroughfare!  
We place a high taxation  
Upon the transportation  
Of brotherhood and peace, of light and air."  
Now on each fence the bristling hordes were black,  
Ruled by a giant with a colored cloth.  
"See how our neighbors threaten and attack!"  
They railed and shrieked in chorus, growing wroth  
Against their brothers' treachery, while their hands  
Reached out to seize the fruits of bordering lands;  
And, lighting jealous flames,  
And flinging challenging brands,  
Sang anthems to their own high God-inspired aims.



followers and supporters, and the "Jews," who were as apparently his enemies. For, on page 62, we are told that "the people listened to all that Our Savior said, but were not agreed among themselves about him [because] the Pharisees and Jews had spoken to some of them against him, and some of them were inclined to do him harm and even to murder him." The Jews, in other words, though they curiously enough included "most of the inhabitants," were in some way intruding themselves among these mysterious "people," whoever they were, and spreading suspicion and hatred against the Nazarene! At the end comes the description of Jesus's trial, where, Dickens tells his children, "Pilate (who was not a Jew) said to him, 'Your own nation, the Jews, and your own priest have delivered you to me.'" Here is the first intimation that Jesus was himself a Jew, coupled with the ominous suggestion that, in his divine work of saving the "people"—that is, mankind generally—he was betrayed by his "own nation."

THAT such an account of Jesus must implant hatred of the Jews in the minds of sensitive children who read it is as certain as it is that Dickens never really intended this result. The unpardonable aspect of the whole story is the complete suppression or ignoring of the fact that Jesus, himself a Jew, spent all his life among the Jews, and that these same Jews were none other than the "people" who crowded about him and worshipped him. On the one hand, the "people" generally, until the end at least, when they were misled by the Jews, supported Jesus and gave him their love; and, on the other hand, the "Jews" hated him, and at last murdered him. "Who killed Christ? *The Jews!*" This has been the cry of all the Christian centuries and the source of endless pogroms and persecutions. Never was this more impressively proved than in the case afforded by Charles Dickens, who all unconsciously infected with the virus of anti-Semitism a life of "Our Lord" which he wrote with the express purpose of teaching his children understanding and love of all mankind.

Christianity has been guilty of many sins—of none greater than this branding of the Jews with the ghastly crime of the crucifixion of their own young prophet of Nazareth. If the church would be worthy of its "Savior," it must follow the suggestion of Professor Moehlman, and confess this sin and plead forgiveness. It must then go right straight on and rewrite its history and scrap its Christology. If the hatred of the Jew which has filled the Christian era with torture and bloodshed, and has now in our time reached a veritable climax of horror in Hitler's Germany, is not to darken forever the landscape of the world, certain facts must be lifted up as banners for all to see:

(1) Jesus was a Jew, a teacher who never heard the word "Christian".

(2) The "people," who came to him and "heard him gladly," were also Jews.

(3) The enemies who betrayed and smote him were the characteristic enemies of church and state who have arisen against every prophet, from Socrates to Gandhi, who has succeeded in shaking the foundations of the *status quo*.

(4) Jesus, in the end, was put to death by Roman officials, under Roman law, and on a Roman cross.

(5) Jesus's message, from first to last, was the pure message of Israel, and his life and work Israel's supreme gift to humankind.

It is not easy to refashion the tradition and the faith of Christendom's two thousand years. But if the culmination of those two thousand years in Nazism teaches anything, it is that this must be done, and by Christianity itself—first in justice to the Jew, and second, for the sake of him who taught the love of all mankind.

## SIGNS OF THE TIMES

LET those individuals who talk of the necessity of supplementing parliamentary action with preparation for seizure of power through workers' councils consider the defeat of Fenner Brockway in a recent by-election at Upton (West Ham). Mr. Brockway is General Secretary of the Independent Labor Party and one of its two most distinguished and brilliant leaders. Together with James Maxton, he is the driving spirit of his party. With a long record of devotion to the cause of the workers on the floor of Parliament and with rare gifts as a public speaker, Fenner Brockway represents the most attractive type of candidate the I. L. P. can put in the field. Yet in a constituency that was won by the British Labor Party, he polled only 748 votes—with 43,000 eligible voters in the district. The victorious Labor candidate received 11,998 votes, and the Conservative representative 8,534. Mr. Brockway polled one out of every 57 eligible votes, and one-sixteenth as many as were received by his victorious opponent.

In considering the reasons for this amazingly poor showing, we must keep in mind the fact pointed in my article in the last issue of *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, that in the North Hammersmith by-election a few weeks ago the I. L. P. officially endorsed the Communist candidate, who later received only 614 votes as compared with the Labor victor's 14,263, and that the I. L. P. has adopted a strategy similar in many aspects to the program advocated by the Communist Party.

The meaning of all this to me is that workers in countries long committed to universal suffrage, such as Great Britain, France and the United States, will not choose candidates who advocate preparation for non-parliamentary seizure of power. Let the Revolution-



ary Policy Committee and the Militants ponder on Fenner Brockway's 748 votes!

**T**HIS approach leads directly to the heart of the recent declaration of the New York Militants, a portion of which was published in the last issue of this journal. The members of this group desire to use parliamentary processes to hasten the revolutionary transfer of power to the working class, but they are so sceptical of its value "when the time for decisive battle comes" that they urge the creation now of "a dual form of state within the framework of the bourgeois democracy"—that is, "workers' councils or some other form more suited to a specific revolutionary situation." They go on to say frankly that a proletarian dictatorship must be established and that it must "be prepared to unhesitatingly suppress every counter-revolutionary manifestation. It must destroy all organizations of the capitalist class and its institutions of propaganda."

Even superficial acquaintance with the American scene enables one to say positively that the mere announcement of such a program by a political party would destroy absolutely any chance of success at the polls. To say in advance that the Democratic and Republican parties would be abolished and all capitalist newspapers suppressed would be to slam and bolt the door of parliamentary processes. If revolutionaries look upon the latter merely as a means of establishing a dictatorship, they will never achieve state power through the ballot. *A radical party that refuses to be voted out of office never will be voted into power.*

Therefore it seems to me that Communists are far more realistic than the Militants. The former say openly that they never expect to acquire state power through parliamentary action and that they regard voting on election day merely as a means of agitation. My own reasons for believing that the Communist strategy of seizing power through civil war cannot succeed in the United States have been set forth in earlier issues of THE WORLD TOMORROW and elsewhere. But I must point out that Communists have avoided a major illusion of the Militants, namely, that parliamentary action can be used successfully in establishing a proletarian dictatorship. Not ballots but bullets will be required to inaugurate and maintain a dictatorship of the proletariat in the United States.

The proposals of the Militants concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transforming of international war into civil war for the purpose of establishing socialism *were not adopted* at the Detroit Convention of the Socialist Party. It is highly necessary to emphasize this fact because of newspaper headlines and because of the utterances of some alarmed Socialists.

In order that there may be no misunderstanding on

this point, the reader should turn to the Declaration of Principles, printed on pages 323-324 of this issue, and notice precisely what commitments are made. Throughout this document emphasis is placed upon democracy and pacific processes. Unqualified opposition to the war system is unmistakably visible and there can be no doubt that this declaration, if ratified by the referendum, commits the Party to resolute war resistance. Pacifists should rejoice over the fact that no loopholes are left open. The war method of seeking security and justice is repudiated utterly. So far as international war is concerned, the action of the Detroit Convention follows almost exactly the proposals long advocated by pacifist revolutionaries.

With regard to civil war, the Declaration does *not* commit the Party to armed hostilities in behalf of a proletarian dictatorship. The proposals of the Militants and the Revolutionary Policy Committee were not accepted. It must be admitted, however, that at two or three points the meaning of the language used is not wholly clear, but may be given varying interpretations. Here is a controversial sentence: "They will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government, by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups in a united effort to make the waging of war a practical impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for Socialism." Nothing is said about turning imperialist war into class war, but some Militants and R. P. C. members may contend that such action is implied. Pacifists have reason to be reassured by the vigorous opinion of Norman Thomas concerning this sentence. If there remains widespread doubt as to the full meaning of the passage, the N.E.C. should declare unequivocally that no commitment is made to the use of armed action in an hour of crisis. Popular misunderstanding at this point would prove to be seriously detrimental, if not actually fatal, to the Party's success at the polls.

In envisaging the situation if capitalism should collapse utterly, the Declaration says that the Socialist Party in that event "will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule." This statement does *not* commit the Party to armed action in behalf of a proletarian dictatorship, but it is being thus interpreted in some quarters. Here also Norman Thomas speaks a convincing and reassuring word. If necessary to dispel any remaining doubt, the N.E.C. should issue a clarifying statement. The Socialist Party is dedicated to revolution through peaceable and democratic processes and therefore cannot afford to permit vagueness of expression to reduce its chance of success at the polls. Remember Fenner Brockway's 748 votes!

If any pacifist revolutionary is wavering and undecided as to whether he should join a political party



which includes in its membership advocates of armed seizure of power, let me urge him without delay to apply for membership in the Socialist Party in order to strengthen the present majority, which seeks revolution by non-warlike means.

*Kirby Page*

## Pit College in Avelonia

*I Went to Pit College.* By Lauren Gilfillan. Viking Press. \$2.50.

WHEN Lauren Gilfillan, a proud 1931 Smith College graduate, could not find employment, she went to Avelonia, a small mining town near Pittsburgh, to discover for herself how miners lived. She reached Avelonia at dusk. Dismissing her taxi driver at the road she trudged with her possessions to one of the more respectable looking homes and asked for lodging. Moved by pity at her apparent homelessness, Ma Konnecheck sent her eldest son, Archie, to sleep with Frank and established Laurie in his place. At daybreak Laurie arose to go to the relief station to accompany the strikers on their daily march of protest to the scabs who had taken their places at the mine. In the kitchen she found Mrs. Konnecheck crying.

'But what was the matter? Why were you crying?'

'Ach, notting. I vorry. All time, I vorry. Yren, she sick in the night. She cry. No can pay doctor. No got moneys no more. No can keep house. Dees my house,' proudly. 'I buy heem. I buy heem ten year. No can pay de tax. Out on dee road, dey trow us. My little Yren! Vat happen?'

'Don't worry,' I said without conviction.

'Dees strike, it no good. Archie, he scab. Ven he can no work, he valk and valk around.'

'But I thought he was working now.'

'De mine, it go vun day—may be two day—veek. So, leetle moneys he make. He look for udder job, but he no find. He beeg, healty. Frank, he no care. He like loaf all time. But today they work maybe.' She got up. 'I get breakfast for dem.'

Each morning Laurie went with the strikers on the picket and returned with them to the Communist relief station for her breakfast. The friends she made invited her to come and live three or four days with each of them, so that she became intimately acquainted with the miners and their families.

Disguised as Archie's helper, Laurie spent a day in the mine.

We were approaching the magic portal. Now we were at the threshold. Now we were entering the mine!

Blackness. A tiny bluish-white light glimmering far, far away. Like a caught will-of-the-wisp. Two infinitesimal figures silhouetted against it. Grind, roar, grind, down a long black tunnel. Darkness, night. Walls of jet hanging above us, floating, suspended, always the same. . . .

I do not know how long it was. At last we slowed, stopped. I felt as if I were in the midst of hell.

At two-fifteen Laurie could stand the dark and the closeness of the mine no longer. She walked the two miles to the entrance of the mine.

At first I was dazzled, blinded. Then I was conscious only of the sunlight. It swam and fell all about me in a pelting of ineffable rain. For the first time, I was conscious of the sun as a tangible substance. Its light was a physical sensation impinging on the skin. A holy oil anointing me, a yellow water flowing over my body.

Johnny Cercil was Laurie's particular friend. Their conversation is a commentary on the contrast between economics as it is lived in the world and as it is taught in college.

'Didn't it nearly kill you to work in the mines?'

'You git used to it. You've got to. I used to lay right down there in the water and go to sleep, I was so tired. Then I'd miss the man trip 'n' hafta walk up. Sometimes I used to wish I was a college graduate holding a white collar job, and then again, I was sorta proud of bein' a miner. You know, we fellas got an old gag we pull every oncet in so often. We say we went to Pit College.'

'Pit College!'

'Yeah, the college with the big black gates. It's a gag, see. There's Pitt University in Pittsburgh, 'n' so we say we went to Pit College in Avelonia. We say we ain't got our diplomas yet.' . . . Johnny went on to discuss international economics with me. But it was a one-sided affair. He was shocked at my abysmal ignorance and my indifference.

'Ain't you never heard o' MacDonald?'

'Well, of course, I've heard of him.'

'Did you ever hear of Lenin, by any chancet?' sarcastically.

'Why, yes! He came from Russia.'

'CAME from Russia! For the love of God, what did they teach you at college?'

He launched into a long lecture on world affairs. I listened with more attention than ever in a college classroom. If his extensive information was inaccurate, I didn't know it. I was lost in admiration.

The citizens of Avelonia eventually became suspicious of Laurie and decided that she must be a capitalist spy because of her type-writer and her inveterate habit of asking questions. When she finally left, all her friends had deserted her, with the sole exception of Johnny.

Lauren Gilfillan's account of her amazing experiences reads like a novel. She gives us an honest, unbiased picture of life at the subsistence level; of the activity of the Communist Party during a strike; of the kind of "justice" the courts award the underprivileged; of the lure the occupation of mining has for miners. And in two brief pages she reveals the total irrelevance of the work of the church to the suffering that is permitted to exist at its very doors.

One of Laurie's worst critics was Shirley, a Communist organizer, who predicted that she would write a melodramatic tale of "art for art's sake." This prediction has not come true. If her book falls short of Ibsen and Sinclair in that it presents no system of truth and reform, it is a splendid account of conditions as they are, which should stir us all to find some way to right these awful wrongs.

Ministers, teachers, and club leaders wanting fresh material about the effect of the present economic debacle on the lives of workers will find this book an excellent source of information. *I Went to Pit College* was the selection of the Literary Guild for the month of March.

FERN BARCOCK



# CORRESPONDENCE

## Conference on Socialist Christianity

THE Fellowship of Socialist Christians is calling a *Conference on Socialist Christianity* at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y., for Monday and Tuesday, September 17 and 18. The membership will hold its annual business meeting on this occasion, but other sessions of the Conference are open.

The Executive Committee proposes the following topics for discussion at the Conference:

### 1. *The Socialist Appeal to the Middle Class of America.*

What is the relation of the middle class to the social struggle?

Does radicalism aggravate fascism?

What should be our attitude toward the NRA?

### 2. *Socialist Strategy within the Church.*

Will we have to give up the attempt to work through present middle-class churches and establish frankly Socialist religious fellowships? What can we learn from such radical and labor churches as have already been formed?

Is there any other way in which institutional religion can be disentangled from capitalism?

What should be the message to their congregations of those remaining within the present middle-class churches?

Do we need a new "theology of collectivity"?

### 3. *Future Development of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians?*

Should we launch an aggressive program within the churches of Socialist education and of organizing Socialist mass pressure?

Do we need a special program for young people?

Should our present discipline be continued as the basis of membership?

The rates for room and board will be \$2.50 a day, with a lunch-through-lunch charge of \$3.00. Please make your reservations with the secretary, Mrs. Evelyn O. Young, 157 Montague Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

New York, N. Y.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, *National Chairman*

## In Order to Understand Nazis

PERHAPS the most frightful thing that Adolf Hitler has done is to change so many of the liberal-minded people of the United States from pacifists into fighters. These good people on whom we had counted to be the last bulwark against hysteria in a time of crisis have in many cases been the first to join the colors.

On the other hand, a group of young people went to Germany last summer against the advice of internationalists, because their leader was simply incapable of believing that the fine, cultured, friendly people he had known there in the past were able to turn overnight into devils incarnate, as the newspapers tried to have us believe.

This group lived with the Nazis and had a fine time doing it. Its members came home with a deep sympathy for Germany in the frightful situation in which she finds herself. They believe that if America had been subjected to the same injustice and suffering, Americans would have reacted in the same way, probably worse. They deplored the colossal absurdities that many of their German friends believe in, but they were still friends.

Similar groups are going this summer to Germany and others to France. The undertaking, known as "An Experiment in International Living," is under the direction of the writer, at 817 Comstock Ave., Syracuse, N. Y.

Syracuse, N. Y.

DONALD WATT

## "Disloyalty to the Church"

BECAUSE he has come out for the overthrow of the capitalist system, the Rev. Claude C. Williams, of Paris, Arkansas, has been discharged from the pulpit of the Presbyterian church and is now threatened with eviction from his church-owned home, despite the fact that the church owes him \$2,000 in back pay.

In 1932 he espoused the cause of the striking miners of his locality and since that time he has been in the midst of every fight against reactionaries of the community. He has organized "Socio-Religious" groups in Paris and in the nearby towns of Fort Smith, Clarksville, Russellville and Midland. At the time he was fired he was planning a "New-Era Forum" at which outside speakers were to discuss the problems of unemployment, race prejudice, morals, fascism, war, communism, socialism, etc.

Approximately 100 of the 112 members of his church are in sympathy with him, but the board is controlled by a wealthy real estate dealer and a woman who owns 1,200 acres of rich farm land. Charges against him were "disloyalty to the church" and "communism."

It is hoped that individuals or groups in the East may be discovered who are willing and able to help him carry on his organizational work.

Mena, Arkansas

CHARLOTTE MOSKOWITZ

## The Peace Films Caravan

ON the evening of May 19, the day which had been marked by New York's Peace Parade, the undersigned, a member of the F.O.R. and until recently on the faculty of the University of Michigan, inaugurated the Peace Films Caravan by screening "Broken Lullaby" ("The Man I Killed") at Columbus Circle. The film was projected on a screen mounted on the rear of a specially constructed truck whose motor provided the electric current. During the changing of reels short talks on the League of Nations were given and pacifist handbills distributed.

The aim of the Peace Films Caravan is to reach the millions who never attend peace lectures nor read our literature. "High Treason," "All Quiet on the Western Front," "The Unknown Soldier Speaks," and "The Next War" are material for a varied program by which emotions are stirred as well as instruction given. This program could be shown in churches, schools, camps, and parks. A small admission would be charged so as to avoid the stigma of "propaganda." These commercial films, which have run in Broadway theatres, would be announced as such—and not as peace publicity.

Motion pictures are the most powerful medium for molding public opinion. "One picture is worth 10,000 words," as the Chinese say. Just as militarists perfect their methods year after year, so we should strive to spread the light as efficiently as possible.

To acquire a 16-mm talkie projector, a screen, and two of the films listed above, \$900 is needed. This money is the match with which the big fire that is to burn up the rubbish-heap of militarist superstitions is to be lighted. At each screening of these films new adherents will be won, who will in turn make the necessary contributions to carry on the Peace Films Caravan. Help provide



# Revolution: What Kind?

KIRBY PAGE

**T**HE Revolutionary Policy Committee—the Committee of 47—in a statement dated May 22, quoted me four times, and in every instance my position was misinterpreted, quite unconsciously of course. First, I was cited as an exponent of “reformism.” That this is a correct classification, I deny with the utmost vigor. I do not favor reform, but non-warlike revolution. The difference between the two is found in the nature of the change sought. I do not desire to patch up capitalism, but to end it and create in its place a Socialist commonwealth.

The very roots of the competitive profit system must be torn up. This will have been largely accomplished when the huge essential industries, including finance and credit, have been socialized, although poisonous weeds of profit-making will for a while longer infest the by-paths of production and distribution. Our primary task is to clear the highways. To be sure, there are several ways of seeking to accomplish thorough-going revolution, and here we come to differences in judgment among radicals. The founder of the religion I profess was far more revolutionary than Lenin. To the oft-repeated assertion that pacifists can be revolutionary only in phrase, and not in action, let me offer the rejoinder that such a statement begs the whole question, since the relative effectiveness of two courses of action is itself the subject of the crucial controversy. Most emphatically, let me repeat that I am not a reformist but a non-warlike revolutionist.

In the second place, I was referred to as one who holds “the belief in the gradual growing into Socialism; the rejection of a revolutionary, decisive change. Conceive of the gradual accumulation of socialized industries and united within capitalist framework without a complete change in control of the state machinery.” This is not an accurate statement of my position, as I do not advocate “gradualism.” On the contrary, I desire to see capitalism abolished with the utmost rapidity. Here also there are differences in opinion among revolutionists as to which strategy will most swiftly accomplish the desired result. In *Individualism and Socialism* I have stated at length my reasons for believing that a combination of economic pressure and political action through a triple organization of workers, consumers and voters will move the American people *far more rapidly*, as well as much more certainly, toward a full-fledged Socialist society than will the strategy of armed seizure of power by proletarians.

The all-important aspect of the time element in revolution is not when it begins but when it reaches the de-

sired objective. So far as revolution through civil war is concerned, there are three stages: preparation for a violent seizure of power; consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship through the liquidation of counter-revolutionaries; and the construction of a new society. In measuring the relative speed of two ways of reaching a given destination, the last stage, not the first, must be kept in mind. It appears to me highly sentimental, if not actually fantastic, for Americans to expect to advance far into the third stage in less than 30 to 50 years if the pathway of warlike revolution is followed, even if the assumption be accepted that civil war can ever accomplish this end in an industrialized and urbanized nation. Surely it is not unreasonable to expect more substantial progress in socializing industry during the next three or four decades by rapidly progressive revolution through non-warlike channels. At any rate, I certainly do not believe in gradualism.

**T**HEN I was cited as advocating “equalization of classes, therefore a continuation of a class system.” Most certainly I do not believe in a class system, but in a Socialist system. That there will long remain sharp divergencies among various sections of the population—farmers, miners, engineers, clerks, professional men—seems wholly probable. To say this is not, however, to favor the perpetuation of a class *system*. When private property in the primary means of production and distribution has been supplanted by collective ownership and operation for the common good, with approximate equality in distribution of economic privilege among all the people, the class system will have been ended. And this is the chief article in my economic creed.

In the fourth place, I was pointed out as one who reflects “a tendency to deny the decisive role of the proletariat and to raise the importance of the middle class to the leading role in social change.” This surely is not my attitude. Repeatedly I have asserted that workers by hand must constitute the main strength of a revolutionary movement, and never have I contended that the middle class can or will achieve economic revolution. What I do maintain is that successful revolution in the United States is wholly improbable unless a substantial proportion of the middle class can be enlisted behind the revolution. Elsewhere I have gathered together voluminous statistical and factual evidence to support this proposition.

Perhaps this is a convenient moment to comment upon an accusation made by one of the 47 to the effect that I “evinced a temper that lends further credit to the



# Not in the Headlines

## "Ultimate Loss"—2½ Billions

Chairman Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation estimates that the additional \$200,000,000 to be authorized in loans for liquidating deposits in closed banks will bring the total advanced for this purpose to about \$1,000,000,000. When this is done, Mr. Jones believes \$2,250,000,000 to \$2,500,000,000 will remain on the books of the closed banks and that this will represent "the ultimate loss" of deposits in such institutions.

## Pravda Expands

May 6, Red Press Day in Soviet Russia, was appropriately observed by the opening of the largest printing plant in Europe, in which *Pravda*, central organ of the Communist Party, will henceforth be published. Eight million copies of the publication will be printed daily.

## Our Largest Industry

Figures released by the National Industrial Conference Board reveal that the total number of employees of the federal, state and local governments increased from 2,618,000 in 1922 to 3,122,000 in 1932, or 19.3 per cent. During the same period the total population of the country increased 13.6 per cent, so that the percentage increase in government employees was about one and one-half times as great as the increase in population. Federal, state and local governments disbursed in 1932 in the form of salaries, wages and interest \$6,800,000,000, or \$900,000,000 more than the total income of \$5,900,000,000 produced by all the manufacturing industry of the country.

## Southerners Repudiate Lynching

At a recent meeting of the Louisiana Association of Peace Officers, 109 officials, including sheriffs, deputies, mayors, detectives, police chiefs and patrolmen from all parts of the state, signed a repudiation of mob violence and endorsed the program of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. The meeting went on record as favoring a state anti-lynching law and lauded Sheriff Hughes of Shreveport for repulsing a recent mob attack on the Caddo Parish jail. The Association, organized in 1930 by Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, now has branches in 13 states, with 19,000 signed members pledged to combat lynching in every possible way.

## Anti-Red Flag Law Unconstitutional

By a vote of three to two, the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional the State law of 1919 making it a misdemeanor to display a red flag as a symbol of an organization. The opinion of the Court resulted in the dismissal of charges against two Socialists who were found guilty of waving a red flag on September 10, 1933. The ruling of the Court was based on the opinion handed down by Chief Justice Hughes on an appeal from the affirmance of a California statute under which arrests were made in that State. The United States Supreme Court ruling held the California law invalid as violating the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

## Dutch Anti-Militarists Face Ban

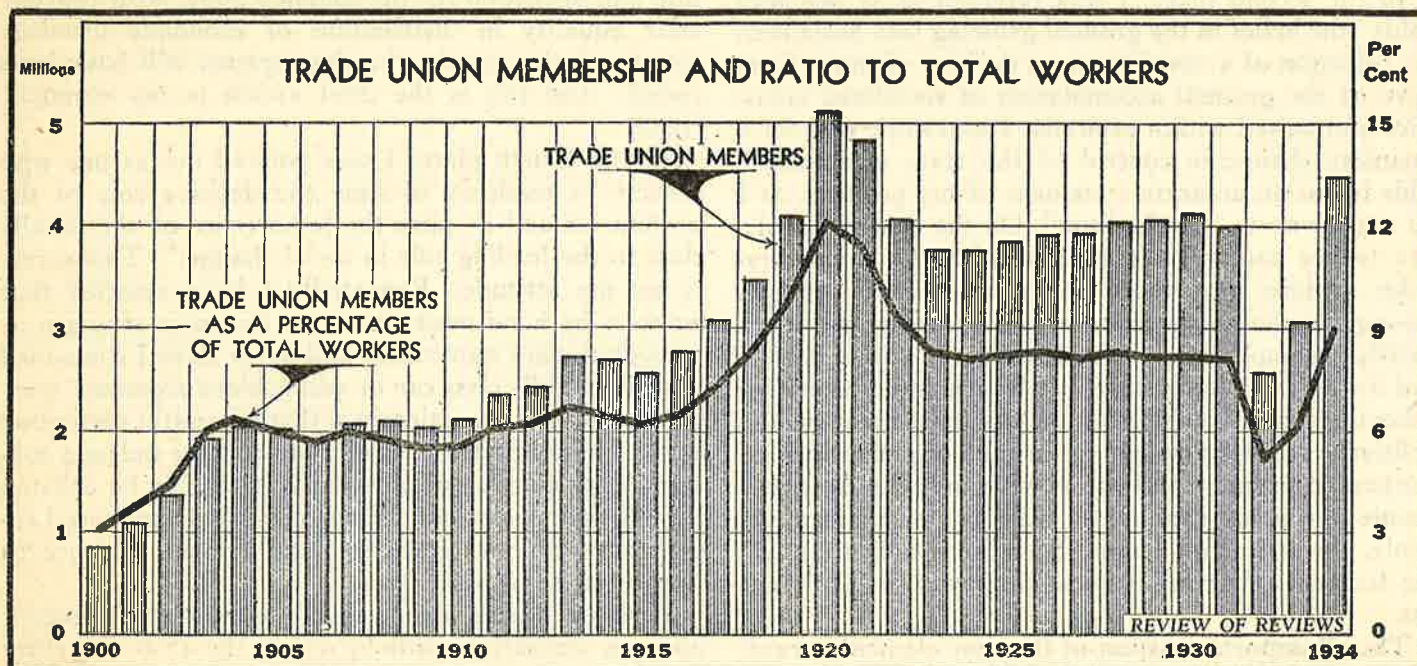
Officials in Holland's government service, including even provincial and municipal authorities, are forbidden membership in the IAMB, or International Anti-Militaristic Bureau, reports that organization's press service. The Bureau sends out a plea "that the Dutch working people will declare their solidarity with these victims of Fascist methods, which are being applied more and more in Holland" and appeals "to all friends in and outside Holland to support the IAMB, morally and financially, as energetically as possible."

## Socialist Ministers' Conference

A conference of Socialist ministers is scheduled to be held at Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, June 25-29, for the purpose of working out "practical tactics in the class struggle, especially for ministers desiring radical social change. Concrete plans of action particularly useful to churchmen will be considered." Among those expected to attend and address the conference are Dr. James Yard and Dr. E. F. Tittle. Details as to cost and agenda may be obtained from W. B. Waltmire, 1717 N. Fairfield Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

## Jim Crow Hotel Boycotted

The Adelphia, one of Philadelphia's larger hotels, was boycotted by the 2,000 delegates attending the Y.W.C.A. convention, for failure to live up to the written pledge of the hotel men's association not to bar Negro delegates. Upon learning that the Adelphia was not abiding by the agreement, Y.W.C.A. officials notified the delegates and instructed them to cancel reservations at that hotel.



—Reprinted, by permission, from *Review of Reviews and World's Work*



prevalent suspicion that I am obsessed with a psychosis against communism." Another friend has written to me: "You are 'hipped,' or have a blind spot and emotional complex, or a prejudice, when it comes to Marx, Communism and Soviet Russia. I find this feeling almost universal among your radical friends." My obsession is not against communism, but against the venom of Communists and their violence and warfare as a means of seeking to create a new society. Repeatedly I have contended on the public platform that most of the ultimate economic goals of communism are closely akin to the ideals of my religion and that the sacrificial devotion of many Communists puts most Christians to shame. But I do recoil from hatred and ferocity, wherever displayed. My criticism is not that the Communist is too radical, but rather that he is not radical enough, in that he takes over, bag and baggage, the attitudes and weapons of the soldier on the battlefield. His objectives are fundamentally different, but his *method* is identical.

**F**OR eighteen years now I have been engaged in an almost unceasing campaign against war as a method of seeking security and justice, and if I have an emotional repugnance to anything in this world, it is to the hatred and falsehood and atrocity inseparably connected with war—whether the combat be among nations or between classes. Not that I hate war more than I abhor tyranny and exploitation, but rather that I am convinced that the method of war merely tightens the chain that is strangling the human race. The war to end war proved to be a great illusion, and so will the effort to end exploitation in the United States through civil war.

While engaged in this endeavor to interpret clearly my opinions with regard to revolution, it may be well to take notice of an impression which seems to be prevalent, namely, that I am an optimistic liberal who vastly underestimates the enormity of the task of overthrowing capitalism and who harbors the illusion that pacifism and religion will automatically usher in the new society. This is not a correct description of my attitude. I do not contend that a non-violent strategy is bound to succeed. On the contrary, I have pointed out to a hundred audiences the fact that the odds are overwhelmingly against us, and that, judged by visible and audible evidence, the probabilities are that this generation of Americans will not succeed in creating a just society. It may be that the processes of decay in Western civilization have advanced too far to be arrested and that we are destined to be buried in its ruins. But I am convinced utterly that the strategy of radical religious pacifism is far more likely to prevent such a catastrophe and to create an equable and harmonious community than is the alternative of civil war.

Moreover, it is my deep conviction that hatred and

slaughter are never justifiable, no matter how impotent goodwill and non-violence may appear to be in a given crisis. Again and again in human history that which appeared to be victory turned out to be tragic defeat, and often that which seemed to be failure proved to be glorious triumph. I simply cannot believe that hatred will be driven out by hatred, or that war will be ended by war, whether the war be international or civil. "Do men gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles?" Surely the evidence is incontrovertible that Jesus rendered an incomparably greater service to humanity by "defeat" on the cross than he would have been able to do if he had resorted to armed revolution.

This question of the relative effectiveness of a non-violent and a warlike strategy of revolution is so crucial that it may be desirable to explore it further. Most radicals are convinced that the present owners of heavy industry will not relinquish their privileges voluntarily, but they differ as to the most effective means of coercion. *In order to expropriate by violence those persons who now own and control, what steps must be taken?* First, enroll a sufficiently large minority of workers to enable insurrectionists to cope with the armed forces at the disposal of vested interests. Second, equip revolutionists with ample supplies of the weapons and munitions of modern war. Third, win the active support, or at least the sympathetic acquiescence, of a majority of the population, especially that of a considerable proportion of the workers in heavy industries and chief means of transportation. Fourth, wage civil war successfully in strategic centers throughout the nation. Fifth, after the initial victories, suppress armed counter-revolutionaries. Sixth, socialize industry with sufficient rapidity to provide for the basic requirements of the masses, in order to prevent desperation and despair from driving multitudes into the ranks of the counter-revolutionaries. These are minimum conditions of successful armed revolution.

**H**OW great is the likelihood that these requirements can be met in the United States within the near future? At present the number of workers in the basic industries who are active revolutionaries is extremely small, probable not more than five per cent. Half of the strength of the Communist Party is now derived from unemployed victims and only a small fraction is employed in steel, mining, electricity, packing, or transportation. After five terrible years of privation, workers in general remain amazingly docile. When they do resort to violence, such action is directed against grievances, and not toward the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The arming and equipping of revolutionaries presents a far more serious problem than is usually admitted by radicals. The weapons of violence at the disposal of vested interests are so extensive and power-



ful, and the ruthless willingness to make use of them so obvious, that it would be nothing less than suicide for the workers to attempt insurrection unless adequately armed. The necessary supplies include high explosives, gas, machine guns and other weapons difficult to manufacture secretly or to store in large quantities. It would not be enough to have secret arsenals in a few centers in a country as vast as the United States. The idea that American capitalism can be overthrown by an insurrectionary coup d'état is utter nonsense, as was pointed out in a long editorial in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* on April 26, 1934.

Evidence cannot be presented too frequently pointing out that *successful revolution demands the winning of a majority of the population*. Revolutionists would do well to have engraved on their desks these familiar words of Lenin: "To become a power, the class-conscious workers must win the majority over to their side. . . We are not Blanquists [advocates of secret conspiracy and coup d'état], we are not for the seizure of power by a minority." In the American scene, this means winning a considerable proportion of farmers and other members of the middle class. And in these circles the number of advocates of the violent destruction of capitalism is now almost infinitesimally small.

Even if an adequate minority of active revolutionists could be enrolled, and even if a majority of the middle class would consent to the revolution, *large-scale and prolonged fighting would be required to consolidate victory*. And when the destructiveness of modern warfare is kept vividly in mind, and the complexity and delicacy of present-day industry are recalled, it becomes evident that civil war in the United States under present conditions, and much more so under the intensified industrialism of the 1940's and 1960's, would destroy and dislocate production and distribution to such a degree that standards of living would drop calamitously, even if wholesale starvation could be avoided. The prospect of being able to satisfy the basic needs of the people under such circumstances appears to be slight. For this reason, revulsion of these masses might result in the triumph of counter-revolutionaries.

**T**HAT this whole discussion is highly theoretical must be admitted. Who knows what will happen in 1960? But the handicap of pacifists in this respect is no greater than that of violent revolutionists. To argue that because Leninists succeeded in Russia and Social Democrats failed in Germany and Austria, therefore Socialists in the United States should repudiate parliamentary democracy and embrace armed revolution, is to ignore fundamental differences in situations. Leninists did not achieve power because they resorted to armed action, but *precisely because armed fighting, except for minor skirmishes, was not required,*

due to the utter collapse of the old regime and to the overwhelming popular support behind the revolution. German Social Democrats did not fail because they adhered to parliamentary government, but because they were never able to secure an outright majority, and because they became satisfied with reforms rather than with revolution, and above all because of the Treaty of Versailles and the post-war policy of the Allies. The Austrian Social Democrats were never able to win a national majority, and struggled under the terrific economic handicap of governing a capital city which was a head without a body, Vienna having been the financial and industrial center of a vast empire which was dismembered by the war treaties. Moreover, they were the victims of international politics, not only having to contend against reactionaries within Austria, but being unable to extricate themselves from the vise which crushed them between the contending forces of European diplomacy—Hitler's Germany, France and her allies, Mussolini, and the Vatican.

What does all this prove? Leninists gained power in Russia without actual warfare (the Red Terror being used later against counter-revolutionaries), while 6,000,000 Communists in Germany, committed to the strategy of violent seizure of power, went down before Hitler without so much as lifting a little finger. The sheer impotence of Communists in Germany and Austria was even more tragic than that of the Social Democrats in these countries. If it is true that the transfer of power from one class to another has never occurred except by violent seizure, it is much more true to say that *such a transfer of power has never been made by violent revolution in any highly industrialized nation*. And the United States is now highly industrialized and urbanized.

The trend of events in England offers little encouragement to advocates of violent seizure of power. After a dozen years of severe economic depression, the handful of Communists in that country are not represented by even one member of Parliament and their influence in national affairs is negligible. The Independent Labor Party, which, since its secession from the British Labor Party, has moved rapidly toward the Communist position, likewise is pitifully weak in numbers and in national influence. The British Labor Party, on the other hand, is making spectacular gains, as was pointed out in our last issue by even so cautious a reporter as Mr. Brailsford. Illumination as to the relative strength of these groups may be gained from the returns of the recent by-election at North Hammersmith. The I.L.P. decided not to nominate a candidate, but instead gave official endorsement to the Communist candidate (let this fact be noted by persons who contend that the I.L.P. has not abandoned pacifism in the class struggle). *The result of the poll was Labor, 14,263; Conservative, 10,747; Commu-*



nist-I.L.P., 614. That is to say, for every vote received by the candidate committed to the armed seizure of power, the British Labor Party victor received 23 votes. Even with the support of the I.L.P., the Communist candidate received fewer votes than in 1931 at the time of the Nationalist coalition's landslide.

The Revolutionary Policy Committee, in its statement of May 22, "restates very emphatically" the following principles: Proletarian dictatorship; workers councils as "the means for working class seizure of power;" and "revolutionary, decisive social change" through "arming the working people." While various members of the 47 insist strenuously that their strategy differs sharply from that of Communists, it is highly significant that in selecting only three aspects of their

program for emphasis, the committee has chosen three elements in their strategy that are closely akin to the theories of Leninism and Stalinism. Moreover, the marked resemblance of their procedure to that of the I.L.P. should not be overlooked. No wonder the I.L.P. finds it easy to endorse Communist candidates!

Subsequent events may prove that successful revolution is not possible for this generation of Americans. But surely it is more romantic to anticipate the creation of a Socialist commonwealth in the United States by means of civil war than it is to put faith in a non-military combination of political action and economic pressure through a triple organization of workers, consumers and voters. Not the pacifist revolutionist, but the violent revolutionist is the sentimentalist.

## Methodists Approach Socialism

CHARLES C. WEBBER

THE Social Service Committee report of the 1934 session of the New York East Annual Conference\* of the Methodist Episcopal Church, adopted on May 14 at the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, constituted, according to the New York *Herald Tribune*, "the most decisive swing to the left in the Methodist Episcopal Church within recent years."

After affirming the conviction that "the motives and methods essential for social reconstruction are found in the Gospel of Christ," the report makes a critical analysis of the New Deal. It points out that "if the motive back of this program is none other than the *profit motive* we can be sure that once prosperity, even if it should be only a relative prosperity for a favored few in power, has been restored, all the social legislation for shorter working day and minimum wage will either be repealed or nullified by industry."

The report asserts that "the way in which the codes, formulated to regulate business practices, have been violated in letter as well as in spirit, gives any evidence that might have been wanting as to how extensively the spirit of anarchy rules in business operating under the profit system. These recent experiences serve to confirm our previous conviction that the very essence of capitalism is inimical to the building of a planned economy. . . . If the government really intends to establish a planned economy it must come to grips with the limitations imposed by the capitalist system it is endeavoring to save."

The ministers frankly state that they "believe the present governmental program does not merit the full

endorsement of those who desire to build a social order after the pattern of the ideals of Jesus. . . . It has lent its weight and authority to preserve and protect vested interests, but has failed to lend like protection to labor and consumers. . . . It appears at best to be a rather pitiful and futile attempt to patch up and preserve a system that has already broken down. . . . There is no way out under the present system."

The report, however, is made up not only of negative criticisms but also of positive proposals for a new social order.

The ministers "call for a return to the wise principle of the socialization of all the rights to issue money, whether it be in the form of actual currency or in the newer form of credit."

"We recommend, further, a rapid extension of social ownership and democratic control of natural resources, exclusive of agriculture, and the principal means of production and distribution."

"We urge again that the United States no longer delay the enactment of some form of compulsory Unemployment Insurance."

"We favor the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, now before the nation."

"We ask that no funds voted for relief purposes be used upon our army and navy."

"We petition our representatives in the Congress of the United States to enact legislation which will make it illegal for any corporation or company to intimidate, coerce, or unfairly influence their employees in any way to join an employer-initiated, financed and controlled organization dealing with wages, hours and grievances relating to conditions of work."

The section recommending a rapid extension of so-

\* The New York East Annual Conference is composed of 303 Methodist ministers whose churches are located in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Long Island, Westchester County (New York), and Connecticut.



cial ownership of natural resources precipitated a long debate. Last year a similar section was referred to a joint committee of ministers and laymen, with instructions to report on the matter to the 1934 Conference.\* This joint committee, in its report made just two days before the adoption of the Social Service Committee report of 1934, had quietly put the recommendation to sleep. This year, however, the ministers were determined that no such fate should be meted out to their

proposal. All motions to eliminate the section or to refer it to another joint committee of laymen and ministers were defeated. When the final vote was taken a large majority were in favor of the straightforward Socialist proposal to transfer the ownership of our natural resources, exclusive of agriculture, and the principal means of production and distribution, from private individuals and corporations to the people of the United States as a whole.

## Pacifism in Hitler's World

PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN

**N**EWSPAPERS have been filled recently with war pictures. Day after day we have seen vividly re-enacted the horrors of the last holocaust. The ostensible purpose behind the display of these photographs is to warn the American people that these horrors and tragedies were the consequence of unpreparedness, and that only a strong army and navy, far greater than we now possess, will enable us to keep out of war.

This is no new argument. It has always been used to justify appeals for increase of armaments. On the surface, it sounds somewhat plausible. If an individual is known to be strong and powerful, people, it is assumed, will not start fights with him, for fear of the consequences. The analogy is carried over to nations. But let us look at this seemingly reasonable argument in the light of history. I ask a single question: "Has preparedness ever kept a nation out of war?" We need not look very far back into history to answer this. Let us turn to the beginning of the great World War. Which nations plunged into it first? Were they not Austria, Russia, Germany, France? Were they not the best prepared nations in Europe? Did not each of them have compulsory military service for all its male citizens, and a conscript army? Was not each of them the product of a definite militarizing policy on the part of its government? Had not each of them been building up armaments for the purpose of defense and prevention of war? Yet it was precisely these nations, the best prepared in the world, which hurled themselves as swiftly as possible into the greatest tragedy of history.

As it was true in the last war, so has it been true in almost every war, that military preparedness, instead of making for peace, makes for war. The reason is not far to seek. Man's body cannot be separated from his soul. We cannot increase a nation's armaments, increase the number of people who man them, increase

military training in schools and colleges, without doing something to the spirit of the nation.

Germany today affords a striking example of this. Democratic Germany from 1918 to 1933 not only had no large armaments but was not militaristic in spirit. There was a reasonable hope that it would do nothing to disturb the peace of Europe. Then Hitler came into power. His philosophy holds that the only way to achieve anything is through force. Therefore he is building up Germany's armaments as swiftly and as efficiently as he can. Is this all he is doing? No. He is psychologist enough to realize that armaments cannot grow and flourish in a peace-loving country, and that the soul of the people must be changed in order to militarize the nation. This is exactly what he is doing, and the process constitutes a greater danger to the peace of the world than the physical armaments that he is building up. For it means that the German nation is being psychologically prepared to jump into war at the command of its government. Perhaps in the days of military mercenaries, who fought a ruler's wars not out of loyalty but for money, a government could build up armaments without militarizing the soul of the nation. But today the two processes are inseparable.

There are certain groups in each country who urge preparedness because they actually desire war. They may not always consciously desire it. Perhaps the armament manufacturers, like Mr. Schwab, really mean what they say when they declare that they would be ready to scrap their factories immediately if that would lead to universal peace. Perhaps the soldiers, the generals, the war departments, mean what they say when they declare that they, who know most about war, are the sincerest advocates of peace. Even if they are honest in these statements, I am convinced that they do not express the feelings that lie in their subconscious being. Deep down in their hearts, soldiers like war. That is how they live. That is what they live for. They no more desire universal peace,

\* See article in the July, 1933, issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW entitled "Methodists Turn Socialistic."



presented as an avowed hypocrisy to make his lot more miserable by deliberately weakening his present security while ultimate security is being sought. In effect this methodology would incline the worker to deem an attack upon capitalism an attack upon his own well-being.

4. To dismiss the complicated responsibility of consolidating a revolution, however obtained, by traditional phrases about "arming the workers" is to perpetrate reckless irresponsibility. A revolutionary government which widely distributes weapons of destruction among the workers is sowing the seeds of its own destruction. The use of such empty words will drive all pacifists out of the Socialist movement, and quite without need. For no pacifist Socialist is unwilling to organize a government, including the use of armed police power against disorder and counter-revolution. But this is not "arming the workers" who are always divided and remain divided, as in Russia today, long after revolutionary success. As here stated, the program offers romance instead of administrative statesmanship.

5. The section on war does not clarify the issue of whether workers should enter armies in order to learn slaughter and obtain weapons, thus hoping for a chance at revolution by military insurrection; or whether the means of revolt is to be a general strike based on mass war resistance. Both policies cannot be followed. The former will be almost certain to usher in Fascist dictatorship universally.

6. A complete united front as yet is impossible and illusory. The Party must choose whether to unite with Communists or with the groups desiring a really radical farmer-labor party. At the same time, it should permit groups of Socialists to experiment with and agitate for the united front principle, which is vital even here, though far less so than abroad. The excellent aims summarized with regard to farmers, Negroes, and the middle class, cannot be achieved by the Party as a whole without some sacrifice of present efforts for a thorough-going unity with extreme left bodies.

7. A pledge of support for the Soviet Union—in general a sound principle—should not include the fiasco witnessed in the World War, when erstwhile war-resisting radicals leaped to arms and helped the United States army fight in an imperialist conflict because the Russians had been betrayed by Germany at Brest Litovsk.

8. Few American Socialists are as interested as I in socialism abroad. But the approaches to outworn slogans evidenced subtly through this brief statement convince me that a prerequisite to the adoption of a realistic program is a recognition of the differences between American trends and obstacles and those in Europe. Come home!

## Comment by Kirby Page

LET me begin by repeating and emphasizing certain significant passages from the accompanying statement by Reinhold Niebuhr:

It is rather a tragic spectacle to see disillusioned young Socialists fleeing the errors of socialism only to embrace those of communism . . . the complete allegiance of this Socialist program to the doctrines of communism . . . follows the Communist pattern so exactly . . . if the general analysis of this document is correct, then the Communist Party has essentially the right line and is bound to prevail. . . .

That these words are warranted is obvious to any student of Communist literature. "Preparing the working class to turn imperialist war into class war," the seizure of power by violence, the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship, the arming of the workers, the demolition of the old state and the substitution of workers' councils—all this is to be found recorded in a hundred Communist tomes. "There is no longer a middle road," declare the 47. Therefore an appeal is made for a united front with Communists and other revolutionary groups, including the Communist International. And this in spite of the fact that two or more of the signatories resigned from the Committee Against War and Fascism because of the disgraceful tactics of Communists at the Madison Square Garden rally in behalf of comrades in Austria.

If the Socialist Party of America should blunder into an acceptance of this proposed program, it would thereby forfeit all valid right to existence as a separate party. Thereafter the sensible procedure would be for its members to join the American section of the world Communist Party. Would such action hasten the deliverance of the workers from the bondage of capitalism and fascism? The answer is found in the record of Communists in every INDUSTRIALIZED AND URBANIZED nation. Nothing is easier than to prove the inadequacy of the strategy of Socialists in Germany and Austria—unless it is the ease with which the complete bankruptcy of Communist strategy in these countries may be demonstrated. The chief planks in this proposed program had long been incorporated in the policies of German Communists. Why, then, were the advocates of proletarian dictatorship through civil war themselves slaughtered like dumb sheep? Because they were unable to enlist adequate support from skilled workers, the middle class and the farmers. It is unlikely that Communists will soon find as fertile a soil for their doctrines as they had in agonized Germany prior to the emergence of Hitler. And as for Austria, Communists were never able to gain even a foothold. During a decade of severe economic depression in the British Isles, Communists have constituted only an infinitesimal fraction of the working class and have exerted practically no influence on national policies. If the proposed program offers a



way of escape from the present "futility and helplessness" of the Socialist Party of America, why have not the Communists in this country been more successful? With a large proportion of the American people in terrible distress, the Communist Party has been able to enroll approximately 24,000 members, most of them enlisted from the unemployed and the ranks of the unskilled.

Therefore, it is one thing to prove that prevailing Socialist policies have not redeemed the workers from bondage, but it is quite another thing to demonstrate that Communist strategy will succeed. The failure of both programs to date is inherent in the situation with which revolutionaries are confronted in highly industrial countries. Lenin and his comrades succeeded in Russia only because the old system collapsed so utterly that they met with no effective opposition, being able to capture St. Petersburg practically without firing a shot, and because the consequences of social upheaval

were less catastrophic than would be the case in urbanized nations.

Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the necessity of winning the support of a substantial proportion of technicians, skilled workers, the middle class and the farmers if socialism is to be achieved in the United States. *It would be difficult to devise a program better calculated to drive these sections of the population into the hands of reactionaries than that proposed by the 47.* Imagine the possibility of winning any large percentage of the A. F. of L. or unorganized skilled workers with the challenge to turn imperialist war into civil war! Imagine the likelihood of attracting the middle class by confronting its members with the imminence of the dictatorship of the proletariat! Imagine the readiness of American farmers to submit to orders from Union Square!

If the Socialist Party desires to commit suicide, it has only to accept these communistic proposals.

## America May Choose Abundance

*The Economy of Abundance.* By Stuart Chase. Macmillan. \$2.50.

*The Choice Before Us.* By Norman Thomas. Macmillan \$2.50.

**O**LD CAPITALISM is dead. Stuart Chase has prepared the verdict of the coroner's jury, showing how the deceased came to his end; and Norman Thomas has delivered the obituary, pointing out such good qualities as the departed had, recounting the efforts of Doctor NRA to save him, and going on to draw the appropriate moral.

Such a summary, of course, does not do justice to these two valuable studies; but it does picture fairly accurately the difference in approach and method of those two students of the economic scene. The books are complementary. Chase, abjuring any social theory, analyzes the trends and developments in our economic structure as we have moved from the machine age to the power age, from an economy of scarcity to an economy of abundance. He writes from the technological point of view, presenting the facts and figures which show what is happening and what must happen. He does not consider, except by implication, questions of human or social values; and any suggestion of what ought to happen is entirely wanting.

Thomas, on the other hand, begins where Chase leaves off. Intensely concerned with the human reactions to these changes which have come about, he discusses social trends as they have been manifested in the NRA, in fascism and communism, in anti-Semitism and the eclipse of democracy; and he points out that the only way of escape from various threatening alternatives, or catastrophe itself is along the road to some sort of socialism.

From the psychological point of view, Chase is the behaviorist. He does not consider any outside direction of the play of economic forces. Have certain things happened? Then such things must follow. Appropriately he closes his book with a chapter called "The Technological Imperative." His is a distinctly mechanistic approach. But Thomas, while undoubtedly an economic determinist, recognizes a large place in the scheme of things for the conscious human direction of our social trends. He sees

groups working to save capitalism and others trying to bring in communism, and believes that mobilized opinion is a force to be reckoned with in molding the shape of things to come. To him, human beings, in spite of the mess they have made in the past, are still capable of determining the direction in which they shall move, and he addresses his argument to them.

Few people can equal Stuart Chase in presenting factual material in picturesque and striking form. He begins his analysis by citing the forty-fold increase in delivered energy which present-day man has at his disposal over that of his ancestor of one hundred years ago, yet with only a two-fold increase in well-being, and then traces where the excess has gone. Fundamentally, the difficulty is that our economic fabric is organized to sell things rather than to serve human needs. This point is constantly overlooked by those who want to maintain the present arrangement and also supply men's wants. As Mr. Chase shows, we have energy enough to supply adequately the needs of all the American people on a standard of living higher than that enjoyed by 90 per cent of our population in 1929 if the productive machinery were aimed in that direction. But it isn't; vendibility is the aim. And needs are not met, and cannot be met, as long as that aim prevails.

The change from the machine age to the power age is of importance for its effect on labor. Under the former, labor was intensified and standardized, but with the coming of the latter, the machine becomes more specialized, and man more and more operates merely a system of controls. The effort of the worker has now ceased to be an index of productivity, for what he can produce depends on the coördination of the plant. The bearing of this on the familiar demand of labor for the full value of its product is obvious, and it also means a decreasing power on labor's part to demand concessions.

In a striking chapter Chase shows how the formula of capitalism has run out. Capitalism means the indefinite expansion of capital goods, of indebtedness on which interest and dividends must be paid, and consequently requires constantly increasing markets and sales. All this has grown at a compound interest rate,



# An Appeal to the Socialist Party

FROM 47 MEMBERS

**T**HE NRA is engaged in frantic but futile efforts to save the collapsing structure of capitalism in the United States. In the Far East, war has raged between Japan and China, and a Japanese imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union is imminent. In Europe old antagonisms have been sharpened and new ones have appeared. All efforts at disarmament have been abortive. The general staffs of Europe are again studying the deadly time tables of war, calculating the risks involved. Fascism has conquered decisively in Italy and Germany. It is spreading to other countries, the certainty of world catastrophe in its wake.

In the light of this world situation, the Socialist Party must now prepare for life or death. There is no longer a middle road. The middle road was taken in Germany and led to death. We must in the future not betray our trust by compromise and confusion of principles. It is high time to take stock of ourselves.

The Socialist Party can become the effective instrument for bringing about Socialism only if it changes its present principles and tactics. The small growth in membership and the poor showing at the polls are objective evidence that the program and policies of the Party are not adequate. More important, however, the failure of social democracy to take power in Germany, where the Socialists had gained the support of large numbers of the working people, raises grave questions as to its theoretical soundness. All of these considerations require that we analyze thoroughly the Party program and policies to make sure that they will not lead to the same futility and helplessness in the face of the constantly growing menace of fascism.

We appeal to the membership for a new and sound program, conceived realistically to meet the problems which confront us. We are convinced that this program must be based on principles which will be briefly summarized here and that it must be so clearly defined as to make it impossible in the future for Party members to hold diametrically opposite principles. Only on this basis can the Socialist Party be enabled to act as a militant working class party.

## *The Road to Power*

The aim of socialism is to establish a Workers' Republic. In the achievement of this aim it is necessary to acquire possession of the state power so as to transform capitalist society into Socialist society by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the conflict against the capitalists, civil liberties are of the utmost importance as means of education and struggle and also for the immediate welfare of the workers. The history of capitalism, however, leaves no room for illusions regarding the behavior of the capitalist class when it is fighting for its life against the advancing workers. The responsibility for the destruction of the civil liberties of the bourgeois democratic state lies clearly and solely at the door of the ruling capitalist state, and is rooted in capitalist development itself. That class has shown with unmistakable clarity that when the decisive hour approaches, the conflict between the classes assumes a violent character. To the degree that the revolutionary party of the working class has rallied the working masses and perfected its organization, to that same degree will the violence, which accompanies the transference of power, be reduced.

We make no fetish of legality. The law in a bourgeois democracy is largely the law of property rights, laid down by those who have "rights" because they are owners. The class character of a capitalist society means that no institution or instrument set up by the capitalist class can be depended upon to establish the Workers' Republic. Therefore the working class state will be an entirely new type of state based on workers' councils, historically suited to serve as the organs of liberation. In organic connection with the struggle for the capture of state power the Socialist Party vigorously supports so-called reforms, such as the thirty hour week, unemployment insurance, abolition of child labor, etc., *not* as steps in a gradual attainment of socialism within the framework of the capitalist system—but for the three-fold purpose: 1, of drawing in hitherto uninterested workers; 2, for the purpose of imposing upon capitalism economic burdens greater than it can bear; and 3, of giving labor a sense of strength through these partial victories. Thus, the revolutionary crisis is hastened and at the same time workers are being prepared for it.

Once Socialists are in possession of the state machinery by the mandate of the workers, their task is to secure and insure the governmental power for the victorious revolution by arming the workers for its defense against all possibility of a counter revolutionary resistance and to proceed to transform the economic and social basis of society.

## *War*

As long as capitalism exists war is inevitable. Socialists are opposed to all capitalist wars and will exert ceaseless efforts to eliminate them. The League of Nations, Disarmament Conferences, etc., cannot be relied upon to insure peace because permanent peace for the workers can only come after capitalism has been destroyed. It makes no vital difference to the working class which imperialist power resorts to the first act of aggression in the coming war. We stand irrevocably against all capitalist wars regardless of how or by whom they are started.

We fight imperialist wars through general propaganda, demonstrations, organizations and strikes in key war industries, including forcible stoppage of munition shipments by workers, and united fronts with all anti-war groups regardless of political beliefs. Anti-war activity must be carried on intensively among the workers with the ultimate aim of: (1) so organizing labor that a threat of a general strike can be held over the heads of government leaders contemplating war, and (2) preparing the working class to turn imperialist war into class war.

## *Labor Policy*

I. The most decisive role of the Socialist Party is in leading the working class in its day-to-day struggles for immediate demands and in influencing workers to be politically conscious and revolutionary minded. Therefore the Party is for:

1. working within the existing trade union movement—which is, today, the American Federation of Labor;
2. the organization of the unorganized—if this is necessarily outside of the A. F. of L. we must strive to affiliate these new unions, retaining their industrial structure, to the Federation, as the main expression of the American trade union movement; and



## THE WORLD TOMORROW

3. industrial unions.

The Party is *against*:

1. passivity and "neutrality" in trade union work;
2. the policy of dual unionism, either to the right or the left;
3. industrial unions.

The Socialist Party in working in the trade union movement always retains its right to analyze and criticize:

1. the reactionary officials of the A. F. of L.;
2. the inadequacy of craft unions;
3. graft and bureaucracy within the existing unions;
4. the widespread discrimination against Negroes;
5. the attempts to drop members because of inability to pay dues; and
6. the official anti-Soviet attitude.

II. The unemployed must be organized in a close relationship to the regular trade union movement. As more workers are unionized, there will be a tendency for the unemployed to be former union members. They should be granted exempt stamps in all cases and retained as active members in the unions. The unemployed must be enlisted as supporters of unionism in strikes and as potentially employed workers. The relationship of Party members working with unemployed groups should be similar to their relationship with unions.

### *A Labor Party*

In the event that the rank and file workers, through their daily experience in strikes and other struggles, force the A. F. of L. to reverse its historic policy against working class political action and form a working class party, the Socialists must be in a position to act as vanguard in this labor party, and continue to fight for a revolutionary Socialist position. The prime and sole function in a labor party would be to give it Socialist direction and leadership. However, the maintenance of our distinct party identity would have to be assured in any proposed affiliation with a labor party.

### *The United Front*

The continued disunity of the working class is a logical and tragic development of the divided counsels in the labor movement. Ceaseless efforts toward united action against common enemies with full recognition of the right to difference of opinion and free criticism of the larger program of participating elements, is absolutely necessary. Promotion of such united fronts on specific issues and on a minimum program must become a major responsibility of the Socialist Party.

The "united front from below" tactics of the Communist Party have been proven to be disruptive to the development of a revolutionary labor movement. The most effective method of counteracting these tactics is for the Socialist Party to take the initiative in promoting united fronts of all working class organizations for struggle on specific political issues such as: political prisoners, race discrimination, impending war, dangers of fascism, etc.

### *NRA*

The NRA is a gigantic attempt to use methods of planning—state capitalism—in the interest of the most powerful financial and industrial magnates. This "planning" is within the structure of the capitalist state and for the purpose of maintaining the profit system. It is not Socialism nor is it a leftward movement toward Socialism. Workers cannot be fundamentally benefitted by the NRA for the following reasons:

1. The NRA, claiming to unite classes, actually increases the economic and political power of the monopoly capitalist, through

the suspension of the anti-trust laws and compulsory organization of industries, to the detriment of the workers.

2. The standard of living for the average worker has declined since the NRA went into effect and even should the announced purpose—namely recovery to the 1926 levels—be successful, it would still mean that some 70 million people would live below the standard of health and decency.

3. The most precious weapon labor has is the right to strike and workers must fight every effort on the part of the government to take this right away. NRA machinery is becoming increasingly a strike-breaking agency and constant efforts are being made to make arbitration compulsory.

It is clear that where substantial gains have been made under the NRA, these gains have been solely due to the organized efforts of workers. Socialists must continue to rely upon the organization of labor and not upon any instrument—NRA or any other—set up as a part of the capitalist state machinery.

### *Farmers*

Any successful plan for gaining power in the United States must include class conscious action on the part of farm laborers, and impoverished farmers. To this end the Socialist Party must vigorously organize farmers along with its trade union work, instilling in the agricultural communities a realization of their interdependence with the urban workers in their common fight against the owning class. Farmers, like workers, should be organized around immediate demands and led by Socialists who can interpret these demands as training for the revolutionary struggle to establish Socialism.

### *Negroes*

All unorganized workers, Negro and white, are by virtue of the lack of solidarity, an easy prey to exploitation, and they undermine the better conditions of work which the organized have won. Bosses are quick to exploit racial prejudice to the detriment of all workers. "Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded." Neither race can win alone. Socialists must energetically fight against every form of race discrimination wherever it appears.

### *The Middle Class*

As capitalism decays, the economic interests of the lower middle class—the small owners, shopkeepers, business men, etc.—clash more and more sharply with the interests of monopoly capitalism. Therefore, this group has a common economic basis of struggle with the working class. It is imperative for the working class to win this group as its ally in order to prevent the introduction of fascism which serves only the interests of monopoly capitalism.

Towards this end it is especially important to organize into unions clerical workers and white collar and civil employees whose ideology is identical with those in the lower middle class. The unionization and struggles of this group of workers will not only strengthen the ranks of organized labor but will help in educating the lower middle class and tend to ally it with the workers to defeat fascism.

### *The Soviet Union*

The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics—land of proletarian dictatorship—is preeminent, unique among the nations of the world. There, only, are the workers in power and constructing a Socialist society. The danger of attack by imperialist nations upon the Soviet Union is increasing. The Socialist Party must pledge itself to defend the victories for Socialism which have been achieved in the U.S.S.R.



*International Relations*

The Socialist Party of America must make every effort to get the above principles adopted by the Labor and Socialist International in order that it may be the effective instrument in promoting the world revolution. Our Party must also strenuously urge the L.S.I. to take the initiative in seeking a united front on specific objectives between all working class internationals.

*Conclusion*

There is absolutely no reason why the Socialist Party of America cannot meet the opportunity which confronts it today if it adopts a clear, well-defined program based upon the above principles and tactics and sets up adequate machinery for effectively putting these principles into action.

Edward Allen	Evelyn Kimberly
Gregory Bardacke	Paul Kimberly
Irene Blayzor	John Lee
Roland Burdick	Walter Ludwig
William Chamberlain	H. J. McFarlan
Meyer Cohen	J. B. Matthews
Wesley Cook	Daniel Mendelsohn
Franz Daniel	Warren Mullen
James Dombrowski	Abraham Perlstein
Ronald Duval	Helen Pickenback
David Felix	Paul Porter
Warren Findley	Donald Reiff
Fred Gendral	Riemensnyder
John Greene	Roy Reuther
Alice Hanson	Sam Sandberg
Elizabeth Hawes	David Scheyer
Francis Henson	Ruth Shallcross
Mary Hillyer	Leo Sitko
Julius Huss	Cora Sluder
Newman Jeffrey	Tucker Smith
Joseph Johannes	Monroe Sweetland
E. H. Kempf	Phillip Van Gilder
Howard Kester	Stewart Way
	Joseph Zamaras

**Comment by Reinhold Niebuhr**

**V**ARIOUS groups in the Socialist Party are banding together for the purpose of defining a new direction for party policy and strategy. Recently one of these, under the name of the "Revolutionary Policy Committee," sent its appeal to members of the party. The appeal has much to commend it. It represents an honest effort to redirect Socialist policy to the Left and to disavow the reformist tendencies which are felt to have become completely discredited in Germany, and which are still the heritage of American socialism. It may be proof of a lack of vitality that discussions on basic philosophy and strategy have been rather conventional and vague within the party in recent years. Perhaps this appeal will stir genuine thought in Socialist ranks and help the party to gain a new sense of direction in its June convention. As matters now stand, the party is lacking morale and actually faces disintegration, in spite of rising Socialist sentiment throughout the country. If the coming convention can define party objectives in terms at once more realistic

and more relevant to the American situation, it may lead to a genuine revival of party strength. To this end the appeal of the revolutionary policy committee is a helpful aid.

The appeal is frankly revolutionary. It "makes no fetish of legality." It declares that the law in bourgeois democracies is largely the law of property rights. It believes that bourgeois democracies must be overthrown by revolutionary force. In terms of strategy it looks forward to a united labor party in which the Socialist Party would preserve its integrity and act as a vanguard. This willingness to become organically related to a labor movement is perhaps the most significant deviation from the revolutionary strategy of communism. It is really the only difference which would seem to justify these radical Socialists in refusing to embrace communism. Their opposition to dual unions belongs in the same category and need therefore not be considered separately.

The question which naturally arises is whether a revolutionary socialism which follows the Communist pattern so exactly, even to the point of pledging itself to "defend the victories for socialism which have been achieved in the U.S.S.R.," has a right to a separate existence. I do not suggest that a revolutionary socialism ought to find points of difference between itself and communism in order to justify its existence. I am merely pointing out that if the general analysis of this document is correct, then the Communist Party has essentially the right line and is bound to prevail, if any revolutionary party prevails.

In other words the weakness of this document is that the honest left-wingers who have penned it have been more intent upon fleeing from the errors of reformism than upon defining a revolutionary policy which would be at once politically realistic and relevant to the American scene. What America needs is a socialism which has no illusions about the final limits of the parliamentary method but which also understands the complexities of the social structure of Western civilization sufficiently to know that the Russian pattern will not be repeated in any Western nation. More specifically, it must come to terms with the problem which it confronts in agrarian and middle-class life without losing itself in the confusion of middle class liberalism and agrarian popularism.

About the farmers, the appeal has nothing more to say than that they ought to be organized by Socialists. What are the Socialists to preach to them in order to win their allegiance? Previous Socialist platforms contained purely reformist planks on the farm problem. Could the Socialist Party not work out a plank of straight nationalization of land and an unequivocal disavowal of collectivism—at least forced collectivization of the farmers? Economically, the farmer needs nationalization and, psychologically, he resists collectivization. His psychological resistance to the latter



tends to make him blind to the economic necessity of the former. If the former is to be won to socialism, something more will have to be done than "instilling in the agricultural communities a realization of their interdependence with the urban workers." The problem is to find policies which are equally beneficial to farmers and workers, such as nationalization; and to disavow policies which are necessary to urban industrialism, but not nearly as necessary or urgent for the farm, such as collectivism. As the statement stands, it represents only a pious wish on the part of Socialists that farmers may think as they do and come into a party which the workers have formed.

On the middle-class problem the appeal of the revolutionary policy committee is equally vague. It declares that it is "imperative for the working class to win this group as an ally" and hopes that this end can be achieved because it "has a common economic basis of struggle with the working class." But it has been proved that impoverished members of the middle class tend to express themselves in terms of fascism rather than socialism. If this is not absolutely inevitable (and it probably is not), it can only be prevented if some of the psychological hazards are removed which have kept socialism from appealing to the middle classes. If socialism is to make real inroads into the middle classes, it will have to revise some of its dogmas which set it against the cultural inheritances of those groups. For such a task the left-wing Socialists have no inclination; they are fleeing every form of revisionism. Perhaps they would be more realistic if they did not fear revisionism and "deviations." Let them resist political revisionism for all they are worth. The tragic events of the past decade have proved that the struggle for power is a more ruthless proposition than parliamentary revisionism believed. The realistic emphasis of these revolutionaries is therefore justified. But if there is to be an ultimate struggle for power, the workers will have to see to it that they have allies, and for allies they must look to classes which are poor and insecure but which do not express themselves in precisely the cultural terms that are natural to the completely disinherited proletarians. One may well admit that every dogma of orthodox communism is an honest expression of the soul of the real proletarian. But it does not come naturally to the farmer and the lower bourgeoisie. If Marxism is not willing to disavow its cultural excess baggage, it will alienate these classes, no matter how active its missionary labors. Why should it be regarded necessary to be a dialectical materialist in order to understand that injustice flows from the possession of power, that economic power is the significant power of our era, and that without its destruction and socialization there can be no justice? I know of increasing numbers of people who understand this without ever having heard of materialism.

What we need is a socialism which neither deviates from the central emphases of revolutionary Marxism, nor complicates its revolutionary problem by insisting upon dogmas which accentuate psychological and cultural differences between various classes of the disinherited and prevent them from feeling the common bond of poverty, oppression and the fateful mission of building a new society. It is rather a tragic spectacle to see disillusioned young Socialists fleeing the errors of socialism only to embrace those of communism. They are not willing to believe that Communist errors contributed as much to the German debacle as Socialist ones. But they will learn that lesson here in time. For without a revision of Marxist thought, there is nothing to prevent the events of Europe from repeating themselves here.

The symbol of the complete allegiance of this Socialist program to the doctrines of communism is given in its opening statement, that it believes in the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If it would say that it believes that the final social struggle will involve at least the temporary abrogation of democracy and that the only question is whether Fascists or Socialists will make use of the dictatorship which emerges from the destruction of democracy, I would agree with them. But to speak of a dictatorship of the proletariat in a country in which there is not yet an authentic proletariat and in which any emerging proletariat will require the help of non-proletarian forces for its victory, is to speak without realism.

### Comment by Devere Allen

**I**N forthright assertions, a recognition of the need for clearcut programs, and an attempt to match with Party formulations the critical period in which we live, the statement of the Revolutionary Policy Committee contains much that is praiseworthy. I confess to keen disappointment in it, however, because of its too frequent substitutions of ringing words for sound analysis. It is far more evasive in fact than the manifesto-like quality of its phraseology would indicate to a hasty reader. I consider the committee's statement open to criticism on the following grounds:

1. The small growth of the Socialist Party is no more due to any inherent weaknesses than to its realism and radicalism in contrast to the typical American mores. To make it more radical may be honest and required, but it certainly is not calculated to augment our following.

2. The dogmatic declaration that the future Socialist state must rest merely upon workers' councils is incredibly superficial and would substitute a fatal vagueness for our present fraudulent democracy. This is oversimplification with a vengeance.

3. Reforms within capitalism are not seen, as they should be, largely as methods of making life more tolerable to the worker during transition; here they are



# How Can We Face the Crisis?

By Kirby Page

**O**MINOUS days are ahead. The danger confronting this generation can scarcely be exaggerated. International war, civil war, and fascist tyranny are terrifyingly imminent. To recognize the magnitude of this peril is not to display pessimism, but to reveal minimum understanding. To deny that this menace hovers near is not to exhibit robust optimism, but to demonstrate blindness if not actual stupidity. That Europe is rushing toward the precipice of war is not open to doubt. This is not to say that war is inevitable, but a day of doom will come unless present policies are changed drastically.

Action is demanded. But not just any kind of action. When a building is burning, action that takes the form of flinging buckets of kerosene upon the blaze only makes the flames burn more furiously. The more devastating the fire, the more imperative the necessity of examining the contents of the buckets. Under prevailing conditions in the United States, many varieties of action are highly provocative and merely fan the flames of enmity and warfare. Action is demanded, but action toward what end?

## *Three Deadly Diseases*

My own convictions may be summarized briefly. The all-important economic task before us is to take away the power of control over the basic industries from the small minority that now holds it. Domination of the primary means of production and distribution conveys the most powerful type of power there is and enables those who wield it not only to control industry and finance, but also to exercise enormous influence over government, the press, the radio, the movies, education, organized religion and other means of forming public opinion. The modern corporation, by decentralizing ownership and concentrating control, enables rich men not only to utilize their own wealth but to control the invested funds of vast numbers of other individuals. So long as this concentrated control is maintained, three deadly diseases will continue to attack the vitals of American life: maldistribution of purchasing power, inefficient use of national resources, and colossal wasteage from industrial conflict and international warfare.

In order to take away the power of this oligarchy and to cope with these three deadly diseases, private property in the basic industries must be brought to an end. The American people desperately need more private property—in food, clothing, homes, equipment and countless consumers' commodities—but too much private property in the basic industries stands in the way. Public ownership and operation of the chief means of production and distribution would make possible more equitable distribution of purchasing power, more efficient planning and correlating of industry without the menace of monopoly. The ending of private property in this realm would substantially diminish the power of the present oligarchy over govern-

ment, and thereby make possible a less provocative and more friendly foreign policy.

The primary task before us, therefore, is to bring to an end the system of private property in banking, the sources of electric energy, natural resources, chief means of transportation and communication, and other basic industries such as steel. There are only two ways of accomplishing this end: By confiscation or by purchase. The former can be achieved in the United States only by violent expropriation after victory in civil war; the latter may possibly be brought about by pacific governmental action. There is no certainty, however, that the required change can be brought about by either method. There is a strong possibility that prior to either confiscation or purchase members of the owning class will use their power to suppress opposition by destroying the democratic procedure through the establishment of a dictatorship.

Communists and near-communists say that the only way whereby the power of the owning class can be broken is through victory in class war. They do not advocate the arming of the workers at the present time, but are convinced that when capitalism has decayed to the point of near-collapse it will then be necessary to shatter the power of the existing state and to confiscate private property through the armed might of the working class and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. But the question must be raised: How realistic is the expectation of success in the United States by this strategy? Such an expectation appears to me as highly romantic. The surest way to fasten fascism around the necks of the American people is to talk loudly of confiscating private property through a proletarian dictatorship: And the argument that fascism will quickly be followed by communism fails to convince, especially in view of the trend of events in Italy and in Germany.

## *What Action Is Required?*

The dice may be heavily loaded against success through purchase, but surely advocacy of the pacific procedure of buying out the present owners of the basic industries and making payment in bonds based upon the value of the property thus socialized is less likely to frighten the owning class into establishing a reactionary dictatorship than is the threat of violent action by the workers. Moreover, there is much less probability that vested interests will be able to secure the required popular support in behalf of a dictatorship at the right. Not only is there more likelihood of success by purchase than by confiscation, but the former procedure is highly preferable on ethical grounds. Confiscation is possible only through victory in civil war, and civil war is the most objectionable type of war.

Therefore, the action most desperately required is action directed toward the pacific abolition of the system of private property in the basic industries. This



end can be reached only through evangelism, education and organization. Control of government is essential to the exercise of the right of eminent domain in taking private property for public use by the payment of a fair price. Consequently it is necessary to win the active support or the passive acceptance of a majority of voters for a program of socialization of the primary means of production and distribution. But success at the polls will prove to be inadequate unless the new administration is supported by tremendous economic power. For this reason the creation of a powerful nationwide labor movement and a massive consumers' cooperative movement is imperatively required. Without the colossal power of organized labor and organized consumers, control of government could not be secured or maintained.

The test of effective action, therefore, assumes this form: Will this proposed action help to change the minds of citizens in favor of the pacific socialization of the basic industries, will it strengthen a political movement directed toward socialization, will it increase the power of a labor movement committed to socialization, or will it hasten the growth of consumers' cooperatives?

#### *A Call to Sacrifice*

Advocacy of pacific socialization through purchase will provoke less hostility than the advocacy of confiscation through violence, but even the former will be met with terrific opposition. Dangerous days are ahead. Persons who are committed to the policy of eventually arming the workers and seizing power realize that their very lives are endangered by the strategy they have accepted. For them heroism and sacrificial devotion are minimum prerequisites of success. Patriots who favor armed preparedness and who express a willingness to go to war in defense of country likewise realize that victory depends upon courage and sacrifice. And surely it is obvious that pacifists who reject utterly the war method and who are committed to non-warlike socialization must be willing to run risks and accept consequences if their objectives are to be reached.

This generation has no alternative to living dangerously. It merely has the power to choose one of various perilous ways. If religious revolutionists are to retain confidence in non-warlike procedures and if they are to persevere in their efforts to socialize the basic industries, they must store up resources upon which they can draw in hours of crisis. Fortunately, vast reservoirs of power are accessible. Fellowship with comrades in struggle and communion with the eternal God multiply a man's strength by ten or by a hundred or by a thousand. When a person feels himself to be alone under a juniper tree he is likely to be overwhelmed with a sense of impotence and futility, whereas his spirit mounts when laboring shoulder to shoulder with comrades who also have refused to bow the knee to Baal.

Fellowship in prayer is a condition of continued loyalty to the cause of pacific revolution. Unless a person is able to maintain vivid awareness that he is a co-worker with God in the age-old task of creating a

harmonious community on earth, he is likely to lose confidence in the validity of non-warlike procedures or to become lukewarm in the struggle for social justice. Private prayer needs to be supplemented with corporate worship. Intimacy of friendship, mutuality of concern, and common danger deepen fellowship with man and enrich communion with the Eternal. In a day of crisis nothing is more important than that religious revolutionists should spend time periodically in corporate worship.

#### *Corporate Thinking*

In American communities the proportion of religious revolutionists is so small in comparison with the number of church members, and the odds against them are so heavy, that it is imperative that such minorities form intimate fellowships for thought and action. The likelihood of international war, class war and fascist tyranny is so imminent and threatening that prior attention must be given to these menaces. Almost every high value is jeopardized by their approach. Clarity of thought is essential to effective action and therefore intimate and continuous exchanges of ideas and convictions is imperatively demanded. No person has a right to become so engrossed in a mass of detail that he fails to spend time seeking perspective. The times cry aloud for action, but only for action that is intelligently related to a strategy of social change that is consistent with worthy ends. Fellowship in thought on the part of kindred spirits is a source of illumination for which there is no adequate substitute.

The magnitude of the odds against persons seeking radical changes in the present social order makes imperative fellowship in action. Power at the command of vested interests is so immeasurable and opposition to drastic alterations is so vigorous that religious revolutionists will be picked off one by one unless they band themselves together. It is highly important therefore that in every community there be formed fellowships through which resolute advocates of a new social order may act collectively in defense of freedom of speech and press and organization, and through which a collective impact may be made upon the public mind.

#### *The Opportunity of the F.O.R.*

That these fellowships should ignore creedal and denominational boundaries and embrace men and women from different churches and communions is highly desirable. Intimate groups of this character are able to exercise influence far beyond their numerical strength. In cities of one hundred thousand population, a determined minority of one hundred resolute religionists compactly bound together could render incalculable assistance in strengthening labor unions, consumers' cooperatives and political socialism. In smaller communities a score of religious radicals united in close fellowship could accomplish wonders. In metropolitan communities a determined fellowship of even five hundred informed and energetic persons could wield tremendous power.

Such fellowships are actually springing up in numerous communities. It is natural and desirable that they



should assume many forms. But there is also a substantial advantage to be gained by united action on the part of these various fellowships. Some of us are enthusiastic over the possibilities of the Fellowship of Reconciliation becoming an agency through which a rapidly increasing number of pacifist revolutionists may function corporately.

It is imperative that men and women who because of their faith in non-violent methods have unqualifiedly repudiated the war method and determined not to sanction or to participate in any future war among nations, classes, or races, should band themselves together for thought and prayer and action. The Fellowship of Reconciliation is composed of such individuals in more than twenty nations. It is a group of men and women of many nations and races who recognize the unity of the worldwide human family and wish to explore the possibilities of love for discovering truth, dispelling antagonism and reconciling people, despite all differences, in a friendly society. They believe that love, such as that seen preeminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide for personal conduct under all circumstances; and they seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words—

They refuse to participate in any war, or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races and classes;

They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrong-doer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities and races;

They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

The fellowship in the United States maintains a national office in New York city, 2929 Broadway; a southern office in Atlanta, 252 Winona drive, Decatur, Georgia; and a western office in Los Angeles, 4609 Prospect avenue, Hollywood, California.

There are now about 7,000 members in this country. Its officers and a score of volunteer field representatives are prepared to visit various cities and consult with interested persons about the possibility of establishing or strengthening local groups of the fellowship. But the question as to whether or not local groups of religious radicals function through the specific agency of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is less important than that they bind themselves together in fellowship in prayer and thought and action. But it is imperative that we draw heavily upon fellowship as a means of grace and a source of power.

## V E R S E

### *Song of the Armorers*

"SPEED up, speed up the furnace,  
Blow the red flame higher!"  
The armorers are singing,  
"We'll set the world afire!"

Merrily glow the forges,  
Fiercely rings the steel;  
Children are starving and crying,  
Weeping widows kneel.

The world goes madly spinning  
Head-on for another war!  
"Munitions! Buy munitions!  
That's what we are working for!"

The armorers are singing:  
"Blow the red flame higher,  
Speed up, speed up the furnace!  
We'll set the world afire!"

AMY SHERMAN BRIDGMAN.

### *Fragment from Marcus Aurelius*

AS falls the ripened olive from the tree  
When sap is stayed,  
So may Death find me thanking God for life,  
And unafraid.

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

### *The Journey*

WHEN Death, the angel of our higher dreams,  
Shall come, far ranging from the hills of light,  
He will not catch me unaware; for I  
Shall be as now communing with the dawn.  
For I shall make all haste to follow him  
Along the valley, up the misty slope  
Where life lets go and Life at last is born.  
There I shall find the dreams that I have lost  
On toilsome earth, and they will guide me on,  
Beyond the mists unto the farthest height.  
I shall not grieve except to pity those  
Who cannot hear the songs that I shall hear!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

### *Riches*

I HAVE a purse in my pocket,  
Another in my heart;  
The pocket-purse holds some coppers  
I toiled for in the mart.

The heart-purse holds the riches  
Of earth and heaven above:  
Some joy and truth and beauty,  
And faith and hope and love.

CHAUNCEY R. PIETY.



# B O O K S

## Certitudes of a Liberal Mind

THE CHRISTIAN FACT AND MODERN DOUBT. By George A. Buttrick. Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.50.

TWO characteristics give this book its own distinctive place among the many that face the questions which modern thinking puts to Christian faith—characteristics familiar to those who will not soon forget Dr. Buttrick's Beecher Lectures, "Jesus Came Preaching," or who have heard him preach even once. The lesser of the two is the unusual quality of his written style. It is not "fine writing," in any sense that smells of the lamp or echoes the sound of the file; but it is even farther from that more familiar echo in so much modern prose—the hasty rattle of a portable typewriter. These pages, one feels, must have been written and then rewritten by a quiet painstaking hand that has not only encouraged its pen to fluency but has itself been disciplined by clarity of thought to economy of utterance, and above all to persistent search after what Dr. Buttrick himself once called "the inevitable word." The result is that ideas and points of view with which liberal religious thinking has long been familiar in the theological abstract fairly leap from these pages at one's mind and conscience, with a vividness and originality of statement that stir imagination and will alike. Memorable examples of this gift for putting things could be quoted from almost any page of the book.

The deeper characteristic of the book is its unostentatious disclosure of a spiritual life that burns and shines through its pages like fire through the gratings of a furnace. A university official, who had been stirred by the only sermon of Dr. Buttrick's he had ever heard, cited him recently as illustration for his own statement that he did not much care whether he agreed with or differed from the preacher in his views—provided only the inner fire glowed through the sermon. In a generation whose liberal preaching has too much lost this note of inner certitude that speaks "as one having authority, and not as the scribes," Dr. Buttrick has it—and it is even more revealing and kindling than his gift of style. Many passages might be quoted to show the spiritual insight and religious power of the book, among them two memorable paraphrases in the last chapter of the venture of faith in immortality.

One lays down Dr. Buttrick's book quickened in mind and strengthened in soul, yet with the realization that no single book, and no single type of religious life and thought, can meet all the questions which modern doubt is putting to Christian faith. Dr. Buttrick writes particularly from and for the point of view of those who have inherited not only the doctrines and institutions but also the vocabulary of historic Christianity and are concerned to know how far these are still valid for today. This is especially evident in his final chapter, which devotes many pages to building bridges between the terms and doctrines of traditional eschatology, such as heaven and hell and the state of the dead, and a modern faith in immortality. Here and elsewhere, one recalls the witty remark that modern religious doubt involves three generations: the first accepted its inherited creed, the second doubts it, the third has never even read it. Dr. Buttrick writes chiefly for—and his book will be a godsend to—that middle generation which has difficulties with the creeds and churches whose doctrines and vocabulary remain nevertheless the pattern of its thinking and the focus of its religious problems; he speaks with native accent the "language of Zion"—though he often translates it into modern idiom and gives it contemporary social application.

But we have with us today a younger generation to whom by and large that language is a strange tongue; for whom these thought-forms and ways of speaking have often become either

meaningless or unreal; to whom "the Christian fact," in the sense in which Dr. Buttrick appears to use it in his title, as meaning Christian experience, seems often too questionable in its basis or too feeble in its vitality to maintain itself in the modern world; whose fundamental question about religion is whether it has enough objective validity, or can provide enough social and personal dynamic, to be any more than an "elective" in the modern curriculum, to be taken by the decreasing number of those who are still interested in it. The vital faiths of this younger generation have sprung as often from seeds of social idealism scattered abroad on the rising winds of the threatening storm that darkens our future, as from any ecclesiastical granary; but it is very questionable whether enough of this wheat is yet available to see them through a spiritual famine, or even a long social crusade.

Under present conditions, many pastors will meet both these types of religious perplexity among their own people, and must learn to deal with "each in his own tongue." Fortunately, the last year has brought us two books particularly qualified to guide and supplement the minister in his critical pastoral responsibility. They arrive at a common center of Christian conviction: but like spokes of a wheel that center in one hub, they start from different points and follow different approaches. Dr. Buttrick's book should go straight into the hands of church leaders and members who need to have their own faith clarified and strengthened before they can help their children in college. Dean R. R. Wicks' notable book, "Reasons for Living," recently reviewed in these columns, can go straight into the hands of these confused students themselves. From cover to cover it speaks their language, starts where they are, and moves by their own ways of thinking toward the same constructive and creative faith which Dr. Buttrick and Dean Wicks share, but approach from different sides. Pastors will do well therefore to keep both books on constant loan, to familiarize themselves with the vocabulary and approach of each, and to recommend both, in whichever order best suits each case, to the many who are groping these days for spiritual guidance.

CHARLES W. GILKEY.

## The War in the Balkans

BLACKBIRD'S FIELD. By Victor Komski. Rae D. Henkle, \$3.00.

THERE have been many books in recent years which have given us pictures of the war on the western front, but few, very few, that have served to acquaint readers in America with the war as it was fought in the Balkans. Those countries in southeastern Europe which have always been the boiling pot of world troubles are, nevertheless, little known to the rest of the world. In this book the author, a Montenegrin by birth and a descendant of one of the first families of that little nation, recounts for us his experiences in the last Balkan wars as well as the world war. In his early 'teens Victor Komski (born Ilya Mimovich) joined the Serbian army in the battles against Turkey. Later he was in the Serbian forces fighting Austria, taken prisoner, escaped from prison, imprisoned again, and then a semiofficial leader in the occupied nation of Montenegro. In recounting his experiences the author spares no details however gory or bloodcurdling. He touches up his narrative with bits of philosophy, humor and interesting references but through it all he follows his intention of showing warfare—all warfare—in its lust, hate and cruelty. Beginning as a loyal nationalist, a friend of the assassin who fired the shot that killed the Austrian royalty visiting in Sarajevo, he ends up an advocate of world peace and internationalism. The book is an argument



Israel Zangwill insisted that each new generation have its own experience of war. Perhaps, in any way, each new generation must have its own experience of booze. But some day, if civilization survives, it must be learned of men that the liquor traffic, like the slave traffic, the white slave traffic, the opium traffic, must be abolished altogether by due fiat

of law, if its inherent evils, so fatal to the public welfare, are to be conquered.

Prohibition is the one way out—prohibition sustained, as the abolition of the slave trade was sustained through nearly a half-century of unremitting struggle, by a public opinion which refuses, through however long a time, to be defeated.

## Triumphant in Defeat

By Kirby Page

and the quality of life. LARGE numbers of this generation are doomed to frustration. Any triumphs they achieve must be wrested from defeat. Countless numbers of middle-aged men and women now unemployed will never again find congenial and creative occupations. Gifted teachers and well qualified clergymen in large numbers will never again be able to earn daily bread in their professions, but will drift here and there as derelicts on the high seas. Multitudes of individuals fortunate enough to be employed regularly will never rise above a subsistence level of income. So terrific is the overcrowding in most professions that a large proportion of the youth of this generation will find only restricted opportunities for expression and advance.

Furthermore, many of those individuals who climb high in their chosen vocations will fail to realize their fondest aspirations. Crusaders for international friendship and peace, advocates of racial understanding and cooperation, strugglers for economic justice and security, all men and women who are seeking to establish the kingdom of God on earth are certain to be baffled and buffeted and beaten time after time. Many of them will spend the remainder of their days in areas of strife and chaos and misery. If the joys of victory are to be experienced, such persons must learn the secret of triumph in defeat.

### *God is Near*

This secret is supposed to be common knowledge among Christians. At least in theory, Christian faith provides resources for adversity. All Christians are supposed to believe that God is near and that he is loving and wise and powerful, and that underneath are the everlasting arms. They are familiar with the story of a man of sorrows and one acquainted with grief, yet ever joyous and triumphant. They remember that at night Paul and Silas astonished their jailers with songs of gladness, and that early Christians went to martyrdom with shouts of triumph. And in our own day marvelous accounts are given of the radiance and power of Kagawa and Schweitzer and Gandhi. Even among our own acquaintances are at least a few men and women who exhibit in their daily lives the invincibility that overcomes the world.

A large proportion of such unconquerable spirits is not Christians are not conscious of leaning

heavily upon God in daily conduct, and only a small percentage of them experience vital communion with frequency and sustaining power. Too many ministers of religion continue to draw from empty cisterns and to munch dry crusts. "The lost radiance of the Christian religion" is not really lost, but certainly it is not the daily possession of millions of professed adherents. The coming of the kingdom of God on earth awaits the awakening of more Christians to a realization that the illimitable resources of God are at their disposal.

### *What God Requires*

The key to spiritual insight and power is found in the practice of alternation: forgetting self in carrying human burdens, and putting these burdens down and appropriating the values of silent worship and corporate fellowship. He who is concerned chiefly with his own comfort and safety need not expect to be flooded with spiritual energy. Long ago it was pointed out that the only way to find life is to fling it away. It is imperative that we rise above the pressures of individualism with its appeal to self-interest and blot out personal appetites and selfish ambitions with an overwhelming compassion for our kinsmen who are hungry and embittered. Fear can be cast out only by overpowering love.

Fear of failure is an obstacle in the pathway of religious vitality. Therefore it is imperative that we remember that God does not require "success" of us, any more than he required it of Jesus. Moreover God does not hold us responsible for the "success" of the cause into which we throw ourselves with abandon. When Jesus was hanging on the cross no cause seemed more irretrievably lost than the one to which he had given himself without restraint. In the garden of Gethsemane Jesus had wrestled with this crucial problem: which is more important, life or a way of life? Never did he more hang upon a single decision. If he had decided that he must not "waste" his life or jeopardize the "success" of his cause, and had therefore "adjusted" his own ideals to the practices of his contemporaries, his name would not even have been preserved in the records of history. He became preeminent because he risked everything upon his faith in a chosen way of life.

It is evident that God requires three things of us: the selection of the noblest objectives, the choice of effective methods which are consistent with these ends,



and supreme loyalty to these goals and these procedures. Success is not demanded of us. The outcome is in the hands of the Eternal. It is our business to pursue these ends with these methods alike in "failure" and in "success." Thus it is apparent that one condition of spiritual radiance is the throwing of self with utter abandon into the crusade for justice and fellowship, even to the extent of being willing to go down in "defeat" personally and corporately.

#### *Burden-Bearing and Worship*

But this condition cannot be fulfilled repeatedly and continuously without the other aspect of alternation. The values of silent worship and corporate fellowship must be appropriated if we are to attain the self-mastery required to throw ourselves utterly away. Jesus was victorious in Gethsemane because he had stored up reservoirs of power. And we too must equip ourselves for hours of crisis. There is no substitute for solitude and silent worship. Victorious grappling with crises is made possible for long-continued practice in the arts of meditation, intercession and communion. Serenity cannot be acquired hurriedly. A great while before day, and sometimes all night long, Jesus went apart for recovery. And it must be so with burden-bearers in the present age. We must learn how to get out from under the crushing weight and relax, physically, mentally and emotionally. Persistence in the practice of being alone for even a brief period daily (or at least frequently) will enable us to tap reservoirs of spiritual power and to return to our tasks as burden-bearers with renewed insight and strength and courage.

This mood of prayer which is engendered by wisely used solitude can be heightened and extended by corporate fellowship. The spiritual seers of the ages have been surrounded by disciples with whom they shared life to the full. Seekers after truth and justice need to be reenforced by each other, not only by cooperation in action, but also by fellowship in thought and prayer. My own experience is convincing as to the dynamic energy that can be released by corporate silence. It is not enough that fellow-crusaders should frequently exchange ideas and experiences, they must also learn how repeatedly to share their yearnings in collective out-reaching in silence before each other. If friends would supplement hours of discussion with frequent periods of silent listening, the voice of the Eternal would be heard more distinctly.

Neither aspect of alternation is adequate by itself. Both burden-bearing and silent worship are essential to spiritual insight and power. Aloofness from human affairs and exclusive devotion to contemplation and prayer cannot produce the most brilliant radiance, nor can complete absorption in relieving human misery release all of the vast energies latent within oneself. The perils of pure asceticism are more vividly realized by this generation than are the dangers of continuous activity. Many a young radical has become cynical and embittered because he let himself be crushed by the weight of human misery and failed to replenish his reserves in the silences.

A few days ago I again ran across a famous con-

fession made in his autobiography by Charles Darwin: "I have said that in one respect my mind has been during the past twenty or thirty years. Up to the age of thirty, or beyond it, poetry of many kinds gave me great pleasure . . . formerly pictures gave me considerable, and music very great delight. But many years I cannot endure to read a line of poetry. I have tried lately to read Shakespeare, and found it intolerably dull that it nauseated me. I have a very low taste for pictures or music. . . . My mind seems to have become a kind of machine for grinding general laws out of large collections of facts . . . if I had to live my life again, I would have made a rule to do some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week. . . . The loss of these tastes is a loss of happiness, and may possibly be injurious to the intellect, and more probably to the moral character, enfeebling the emotional part of our nature." Such a warning should cause us more often to flee away to the silences.

This determination should be strengthened by a realization that loyalty to high ideals and adherence to ethical means will prove to be costly in our day as in previous generations. To follow Jesus' way of life will arouse furious opposition on the part of those persons who for reasons of blindness, bigotry, fear or vested interests are seeking to preserve the existing social order. The business man who announces that henceforth he is determined to utilize his energies in an endeavor to change the prevailing property system from one of private ownership of the chief means of production and distribution to one of public ownership and operation, in order to equalize economic privilege, will soon discover what it means to walk the way of the cross. The teacher who sets himself to the task of illuminating the minds of students concerning the inadequacies and dangers of rugged individualism and who seeks to implant the principles of a cooperative commonwealth, based on production for use and not profit, often runs the risk of losing his position.

#### *Peril of Christian Living*

It is likewise highly perilous to his economic security for a clergyman to list among the notorious sinners of his congregation men who sanction war or are willing to engage in it, the world's most colossal sin, or to indict as sinners men who seek to perpetuate and profit by an economic system which appeals primarily to self-interest or greed and which operates through the channel of competitive strife or warfare. In many sections of this country an act of supreme daring is required if a Christian white woman is to invite a Negro woman to her dinner-table, not as a waitress, but as a guest. The simple truth of the matter is that the reproduction of Jesus' manner of life in the United States at the present time is certain to encounter ruthless opposition from militarists, nationalists, capitalists, racialists and other vested interests. The loyal follower of Jesus this day will have abundant reason to recall the teaching recorded in John's gospel: "Why, then, are you coming when anyone who kills you will think he is doing religious service to God."



no among us is sufficient for such a life as this? Is any way really practicable for us? Certain it is that none of us has command of spiritual resources for the task of living perfectly as a son in the Father, and beyond doubt none of us can do the entire will of God. We are frustrated by personal limitations and blocked by social iniquities. This is what we can do: we can refuse to lower our ideals and we can make a resolute and persistent endeavor to live every day in right relations with God and with men, never being satisfied with low aim and meager achievement, and ever being convicted of guilt, private and corporate, for failing to achieve more perfectly the ideal objective for ourselves and for society. The quality of a way of life must be tested by the nobility of its aims, the validity of its methods, and the loyalty with which these aims are sought by these methods.

Measured by immediate, objective results, Jesus' own life was a ghastly failure. But because the ends he sought were so superlatively significant, because the means upon which he relied were so utterly valid, and because the quality of his sacrificial devotion to these ends and these means was so superior, he has through the centuries been accorded highest rank among all the sons of God. Under the circumstances which prevailed in Palestine in the first century, it was wholly impossible for Jesus fully to succeed in establishing the kingdom of God on earth. And under the conditions now prevalent in the United States, it is likewise impossible to establish immediately and completely a just society. The reasonable demands made upon us by Jesus are these: fix our eyes upon the noblest of objectives, choose a strategy of revolution most consistent with

the ends sought, and struggle unceasingly for insight and power to use these methods with maximum effectiveness in seeking these ends. Instead of being impracticable, Jesus offers us the only practicable way of creating God's home on earth.

Practicable—if we will acquire the habit of alternation. So much suffering is recorded in the New Testament that it might well be referred to as a book of martyrs. Yet no volume in all literature sounds more clearly and continuously the note of joyous triumph. The early Christians had learned how to dwell simultaneously in two worlds. And this is likewise the high obligation that is imposed upon us. As revolutionists we must devote ourselves unceasingly to a non-warlike endeavor to uproot capitalism with its exploitation and bloodshed; as mystics we must explore the pathways of contemplation and petition and communion which lead to serenity and power. It is not enough that we be revolutionary or mystical; we must be revolutionary mystics and mystical revolutionists! Then we too will be able to exclaim:

"Yet amid all these things we are more than conquerors through him who has loved us."

"To God be the thanks who in Christ ever heads our triumphal procession, and by our hands waves in every place that sweet incense, the knowledge of him. For we are a fragrance of Christ grateful to God in those whom he is saving and in those who are perishing."

"Now to him who is able to keep you from stumbling and to make you stand in his presence irreproachable and triumphant—to the one God our Savior be glory, majesty, power, and authority through Jesus Christ our Lord now and forever and ever. Amen."

## A Modern Joan of Arc

By Allan A. Hunter

A HALF-DRUNK, excited woman rushed into Kingsley hall one night in the east end slums of London, shouting this warning: "Mrs. Martin's coming! She's been treating everybody down at the Rose and Crown so they'll get their courage up. They're all going to come up from the pub and throw vitriol in your faces."

The dancers suddenly stopped and swarmed around their leader, Miss Muriel Lester, a rich girl who sixteen years or more before had renounced her wealth and come to live among these cockneys as a friend.

"There's no telling, Miss, what that woman will do when she's 'arf over," warned one. "'Adn't we better call the police?" recommended another.

"Then, everybody," replied Miss Lester, "this is closing time. We're going to stand by. What is the first singing 'Sufficient is thine arm alone' if we can't do it? . . . Now let's go on dancing till they stop. They did; and they had that look of battle that always brightens the pacifist's eye. At last it was closing, closing time, but not a sign of the redoubt-

able Mrs. Martin. Most of them went home, a little disappointed but also much relieved.

They had hardly gone when a crowd of shouting, drunken, desperate-looking residents of Bow burst through the side door, led by the lady in question. The huge Mrs. Martin, "like a walking oak tree," advanced on Miss Lester, her right hand clenched at her side. Kingsley hall, she imagined, had alienated her daughter. In a second perhaps she would be flinging the vitriol. But first she loosed a torrent of curses. Miss Lester, strangely enough, was not overwhelmed. On the contrary, a curious light glowed on her face. The accusation that she was destroying religion and misleading daughters disturbed her not at all. While Mrs. Martin was getting her breath for another cloudburst, one of her tipsy colleagues cried, "God will bring your daughter back, Mrs. Martin!"

"Of course he will," broke in Miss Lester quietly taking command. "Now we'll have a prayer." Before it was sensed what was happening, the small mob from the saloon was joining with the Kingsley hall fellowship, in



prayer that the kingdom of heaven might be set up in the streets of Bow and that God might come into their own homes. After the amen Miss Lester took the arm of the surprised woman who had come to attack her and the two marched out of the front door. Mrs. Martin may not yet be a teetotaler, but she is through with throwing vitriol. And when she hears anyone throwing mud at her friend, she stands up massively and makes it clear that the founder of Kingsley hall has done some fine things for the people of Bow.

## I.

Miss Lester is becoming known the world over not only for her thirty years of intimate effective service among the underprivileged of London's east end, but also as a veteran experimenter in what Mahatma Gandhi calls "soul-force." Several years ago she visited Gandhi at his ashram. When the mahatma looked for a congenial place to stay during the three months of the round table conference in London, he chose Kingsley hall, because he could live there in utmost simplicity and keep in first-hand contact with the disinherited. Radio fans may recall a remarkable Sunday morning broadcast from London (our Sunday school junior department here in Hollywood came over to the manse to listen in). There was a delay. The "Great Soul of India," it seemed, was still at his grapes and goat's milk. So his hostess took the microphone until he was ready. A feminine voice with a delightful English lilt gaily told the world how her guest slept on the roof of Kingsley hall in a cell six feet by nine, as did the ten regular workers, choosing these from all the quarters offered him so that he could identify himself with the poor of England as he had with the poor of India.

Passing through this country on a brief lecture tour last fall, Miss Lester later addressed large audiences in Japan and China, and then joined Gandhi for four months in his campaign to raise the level of India's fifty million untouchables whom he now calls "children of hope." She is lithe and disciplined of body, but the effort to keep up with the little brown man who can endure excesses of heat and nervous pressure opened her eyes to Gandhi's amazing energy. They would get up about 3:45 a.m., roll up their bedding in the bullock cart, meditate and pray for half an hour, eat a bite, hike two hours, then have a more adequate meal and a slight rest. Gandhi, as they walked from village to village, would sometimes rest his hands on her shoulder and laughingly remind her that as usual the British shoulder was bearing all the burden.

After a few weeks in England, Miss Lester is once more to travel across our continent, speaking on "Ways of Praying" (the title of one of her many books), "Prayer and Health," "Four and a Half Years as a London Alderman" and "Mr. Gandhi, as Guest and Host." Arriving in New York last month, she is scheduled for New Haven and Boston, Columbus and Minneapolis until early December and then Kansas City and California until she sails again for the far east in late January.

The students of California were so definitely im-

pressed by her personality and message a year ago that they are bringing her to the coast to be the chief attraction at the combined annual Y. W. and Y. M. student conference at Asilomar immediately after Christmas. She has a few small intimate groups of young people here and there, but she is not going to experiment with some of her rules of living. Those rules of living include surrendering oneself to God every night before dropping off to sleep and waking in the morning with the mind not on one's own private troubles but on God "as shining with radiant joy, creative power, all-pervading love, perfect understanding and serenity." Before breakfast numbers of the group and persons specifically in need are remembered in prayer, that is, they are lifted up imaginatively into the presence of God. The whole day is dedicated. The struggles against war and poverty are taken for granted as normal channels through which to express the adventurous spirit generated by Christian fellowship.

## II.

In her beautifully-visionsed little book "Why Worship?" Miss Lester suggests how "you can make every moment immortal. You can find your individual life merging itself ever more completely into the life of the world." The kind of mysticism she embodies offers not sentimental escape but realistic insights and responsibilities: "Ask yourself as you walk down the street how many horrible things in one hour you meet. Let these things later come back into your prayer time. You realize that there is always something you can do about them when you get near God, and begin to think his thoughts after him. These things which frighten you do not frighten God."

Here is a wholehearted, joyously healthy woman of fifty, looking rather like a high school girl, who seems really to be free of fears and inhibitions. She feels perfectly at home in the swankiest pulpit wearing a dress made out of an old *sari* cloth from India or cheap calico. She is glad unobtrusively to forego dessert served to her in an American mansion, lest she forget her comrades of the slums who rarely have cake and ice-cream. She has no hesitancy in asking her audiences, "Is it not time that we refused to fight?"

Her resistance to the war system has stamina, the courage of complete commitment, without reservations, to the God who has made of one blood all nations under heaven. It is a religious insight that shows her with relentless clarity that no person can suddenly become her enemy just because he happens to have been born on the other side of a river or boundary line and his government has issued an ultimatum against her government. Her war resistance is patriotism that has said its prayers.

Einstein may be for pacifism until the shoe pinches him personally and military training against the Axis seems best "under these conditions." Niebuhr is for the peaceable seizing of economic power dispossessed until the owners interfere. Miss Lester is for the way of Jesus or what she believes is the way of Jesus *all the time* and no moratorium on the mount. As she sees it, the effectiveness



# Toward a Christian Economic Order

*What are the weaknesses in our present division of property? What needs to be done? How shall we set about doing it?*

THE love of money is the root of all kinds of evil," declared a wise man of long ago. To-day the love of property is the root of all kinds of evil, yet the ownership of property is essential to the good life. In this paradox we are brought face to face with the fundamental problem of our civilization. Property is power. Power may be a blessing; power may be a curse. The solution to the problem of property to-day is found in the division of property into three types. It is a great blunder to treat all of it as if it were just property.

First, there is property that is described as consumer's goods—food, clothing, the necessities of our well-being. Second, there is producer's property in heavy industries, the vast productive units. Third, there is property that is on the borderline—handicraft industries, small-scale production, small ownership of land, homes, and a great variety of others. What we do with regard to these three types of property is all-important.

It seems to me that in respect to property we have three needs: First, more consumer's goods or a higher standard of living. Second, less private property and more collective ownership of property. Third, more experimentation to find the dividing line between private and public ownership of property.

A CHRISTIAN economic order, it appears to me, must be one in which there will be public ownership of the heavy industries, which are the basic means of production and distribution. And I find several reasons for substituting coöperative public ownership for private ownership of this kind of property.

First of all there is the vast chasm between the super-privileged and the under-privileged in a society where heavy industries are privately owned. Let me give you an example. You can easily see the parallel.

Imagine that here before us is a father with his ten sons. He is taking counsel with them about stocking up on the necessities of life—hats and shoes, let us say. He has \$200 for this purpose, and the question before him is how to spend that money. Now comes a merchant who has hats and shoes for sale—at \$5.00 each. So the father divides up the money, giving \$20 to each son, so that each one gets two pairs of shoes and two hats. The merchant goes out singing about prosperity.

That is the imaginary situation; that is the way it ought to be. What actually happens under our present system is this: The father, a true product of capitalism, with all its traditions and shibboleths, is an ardent advocate of competition. So he says, "I have noticed that two of my boys work harder than the others, so I will divide the money on the basis of ability." He gives the ablest of his sons \$100, and the next able, \$60. He has only \$40 left; by the time he has divided it, each of the other eight boys has only \$5.00.

What happens when the merchant comes in? (When you watch this, you are watching capitalism.) The first two boys buy two pairs of shoes and two hats. But the others have not enough to buy even one hat and one pair of shoes. So four of them buy one hat each with their \$5.00, and the other four buy shoes—one pair each. Watch the expression on the merchant's face, and you can begin to see what is the matter with us.

By KIRBY PAGE

Author of CREATIVE LIVING, INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM, etc.

He has twelve hats and twelve pairs of shoes left. He can sell only to the limit of the purchasing power of his customers.

But this is not all. Follow the first two sons and see what they do with the balance of their money. They may spend half of it on luxuries; but what about the rest? If they follow the true precedence of capitalism, they will invest the rest of it in shoe and hat factories. What happens then?

We have the paradox of under-consumption and over-production—starvation in the midst of plenty. What is the use of these two sons investing more money in hat and shoe factories when factories that are already available have already produced more than can be sold? If you keep on producing after the producing capacity is in excess of the purchasing power of the people, you are wasting your money. That is exactly what we have done. Because we do not have an equal distribution of economic privilege, due to our property system, to our system of private ownership of the basic sources of economic wealth, we save too much as a nation and spend too little. A small section of investors take for themselves a vast disparity of privilege. And the masses do not have the wherewithal to get a living.

The second weakness in capitalism is the fact that the private ownership of heavy industry makes it impossible to utilize the industries of the nation as a whole. We have

been fed on the efficiency of capitalism, but this is only part of the truth. There are two kinds of economic efficiency, and capitalism excels in only one—mechanical efficiency in factories, power plants, and so on. But in the more important matter of correlation, of efficiency in the totality of the process, capitalism breaks down.

Figures show that the United States Steel Corporation—an almost perfect example of efficiency "on the spot"—last month was using just one fifth of its total power of production. Why? Because a system of private ownership of the basic industries makes each industry a separate unit, each one operating on the basis of profit and its own advantage and ownership, with no opportunity to utilize the national equipment for making steel properly. We will never get efficiency on a nation-wide scale so long as we have decentralization of the basic instruments of wealth.

The third reason for the abolition of the present method is that in the very nature of the case capitalism creates strife, class struggle, and civil war. Let us call the ten sons back again. They need, let us say, eggs. The father has the problem of getting eggs into the hands of his sons. He says: "Capitalism is the best system. Each of you will be motivated by self-interest and will operate through competition. Here are ten cartons, each holding one dozen eggs. When I count three, start. Get all the eggs you can."

I leave the rest to your imagination! And yet capitalism does just what that father did. It says to its citizens: "You get all you can for yourself; it is the law of life. You must operate on the basis of self-interest." Yes,

## YOUTH ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW CENTURY OF PROGRESS

By BISHOP PAUL B. KERN

Methodist Episcopal Church, South

America is the land of adventure. The past has brought us many, resulting in A Century of Progress. New adventures lie ahead, adventures that will call into play all of our daring. I think of four.

The first is in the realm of philosophy. Our world is vaster than any our fathers knew. Science has helped us to discover how old and how vast it is. We know that, under its solid-seeming substance, there are vibrant forces, mysterious sources of energy, controlling our lives in many ways. We need a philosophy of God and of life adequate to motivate and conserve life. It would be a tragedy if we were to find nothing better than a small, adolescent conception of God.

The second adventure will come in developing a new technique of personal living. We are confused to-day by the multiplicity of gadgets. We are in danger of being driven by the very machines we have made to be our instruments. We have saved time, we have added to the span of life, but we do not know what to do with the time we have saved. We must learn to live nobly, truly, culturally.

The discovery of a new social and economic order will be for us a third adventure. Life for the coming generations must be more fair, more just, more humane, more abundant, more

Christlike. We must remove the slums, the lonely rural places, the blight that now withers much of our agricultural life, the specter of popular ignorance, the throttling hand of the base politician, the work of little children standing beside machines and saving money for their masters, the toil of women, too, bearing burdens until they are unfit for motherhood. Human personality must be the goal of every human economic and social program.

International life furnishes us an area for another great adventure. We live in a world armed, distraught, jealous, nervous, and bitter. We live in the aftermath of a treaty that has in it the seeds of another war. Nationalism has become almost a religion. Armies are rising up all over Europe. The Far East is ill at ease. America is halting because of uncertainty and difficulties.

The day calls for a great movement by a new generation, a generation that believes in faith above envy, brotherhood above trust in arms, and in love as the great revolutionary force. The footprints of the Man of Galilee have been out in front of us all these years. He waits for us to make an answer to the challenge that is in his heart. Let us march out together into a future that belongs to God!—From an address delivered on Epworth League Day at A Century of Progress.



**T**HEN we must have a new ethical life. There are many ways of stealing beside putting your hand into the tailored pocket of your neighbor. There may be many forms of injustice in the conduct of those who pride themselves on fair play. Many a murder may be committed by a man who has never had a revolver in his hand.

We have urged men to come to Christ, but we do not tell them who or what Christ is. We do not help a man untangle those powers and inheritances in his own personality that keep him away from Christ. In this endeavor we must be as passionate as we have been in our effort to win men to Christ.

We need a new racial world, in which men and women will be dealt with according to character and need, not according to color or previous circumstances.

And, of course, we need a new international world.

**A**RE these the dreams and hopes of God, or are they a mere gossamer web spun out of our own brains? To what shall we turn for an answer? To the highest moral moment of the race, to the life and death of Jesus Christ.

Jesus had short shrift for those in his own day who tithed mint and anise and cummin, who devoured widows' houses and bound upon men burdens too heavy to be borne. He was dissatisfied with the church of his own day, a church which preached the religion of genealogy rather than the religion of regeneration. The faith of Christ will bear us beyond national boundaries and racial lines. In him we find the highest moral consciousness of the race. From him we learn that God's interest in these problems is more intense than ours because of his greater love.

We must, therefore, work with God for a new world if we are to work at all. The

antithesis between the social and the individual gospel is as false as hell itself. Our God is marching on. Our feet must be jubilant to answer him.

Then we must work *with* God if there is to be a new world. The old quietism makes its reappearance in these days. Many assure us that there is nothing we can do. In the old days they told us that if God wanted to convert the heathen, he would do it without us, and now they are telling us that if God wants to build a better world, he will do it without our assistance.

But there is nothing in history to justify such an attitude. Robert Bright, Abraham Lincoln, Walter Rauschenbusch—all the great souls—stand before us to assure us of the contrary. We must have a new passion which may very likely bring us to the new Cross of Calvary. Can we bring to God the flame of much-enduring souls?

# The Significance of Jesus for Personal Faith and Social Living

*Jesus never asked whether or not his ideals were practical. He faced men with the absolute demands of God*

**A**S we seek to make ourselves into new persons fit for the making of a better world, and fit to live in it when it is made, we would do well to realize that Jesus was not bent on transforming social institutions, but on calling the individual to the perfection of God. He is not a teacher who can solve all your problems for you. True enough, wisdom upon the perennial issues of the human heart was never better stated than by Jesus. But he expects us to solve our problems for ourselves. The fact that he is our personal Saviour does not excuse us from the necessity of doing our own thinking.

With these cautions before us, I find three ways in which he is tremendously significant for me as I plan and live my life.

**I**N the first place, I cannot learn from Jesus without knowing that I stand under the judgment of God. The Sermon on the Mount has been troubling us in this council. Its principles were not entirely new with Jesus, but they were stated with a new radicalness and a new inwardness. We have been asking, Are they practical? I am here to say that the Sermon on the Mount is not practical, in the sense that we can ever fulfill completely its radical demands. Anyone who thinks that he can, knows neither the far reaches of the idealism of Jesus nor the conditions of reality in this world.

Most men say, "Then let's adjust ourselves to this world." Why don't you say that? Why did you spend a day finding what principles of Jesus are denied in the modern industrial world? Why does the Sermon on the Mount trouble your conscience? Because you see in these words the eternal word of God. Because by them you stand under the judgment of God. You must face the high and holy ideals set forth there. And you must find in that experience an occasion for the deepest humility. We must say with St. Paul, "O, wretched man that I am, who will deliver me from the power of this death?" But we must not stop there. If we did, the word we would get from Jesus would be one of utter despair.

By CLARENCE TUCKER CRAIG

*Professor of New Testament, Oberlin Theological Seminary*

**S**ECOND, Jesus brings us the assurance of divine grace and forgiveness, words heard so often against a background of sentimentalism. We must get over that. Forgiveness doesn't mean anything to the man who thinks merely in terms of his neighbor and of his own adjustment to environment. We must see ourselves under the judgment of God. We must recognize that God doesn't love men because they are lovely, but because they are needy.

Jesus taught that God was a God of seeking love. The New Testament goes further to claim that in Jesus there was an act of unique love on the part of God. "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son. . . . God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. . . . We love him because he first loved us." These words are meaningful only as an interpretation of God's forgiveness against the background of judgment.

The gospel does not tell what we can do for God, but the good news of what God has done and is doing for us. Until God has done something for you, you cannot do very much for him. When we confess our original sin, we are facing reality, not because sex is sinful, but because we draw even our first breath in an un-Christian world of greed and force. There are demonic impulses within us and demonic forces let loose in the society about us.

A prominent writer in these times has said: "All men who live with any degree of serenity live by some assurance of grace." This better world for which we work is not here to-day. We must hope and work for it. But in the meanwhile we need an assurance of grace. If you know any greater than in Jesus, I wish you would tell me. Until you do, try to discover what men have meant when they said, "He died to set us free." No man can have serenity without some as-

surance of grace. Jesus brings us that assurance.

**T**HIRD, Jesus has significance for me because he shows that good will has cosmic support. He believed God would send a new age, the kingdom of God to men. Men will never build a kingdom of God except as God, through them, sends that Kingdom. The only hope for a kingdom of God is a belief in a working God. Jesus' figures for the kingdom of God are drawn from agriculture. The crop, as we all know, especially this year, depends not upon man, but upon sunshine, soil, rain—upon God.

Jesus never asked whether his ideals were practical. Standing upon the brink of eternity, he faced men with the absolute demands of God. We say that we are working with God for a new world. How do we know that God is working for a new world? As so many have said when things go wrong: Why doesn't God do something?

Paul Tillich assures us that Europe has already entered a new middle ages, from which it may take centuries to emerge. Since American culture usually develops from twenty to thirty years later than that of Europe, our own middle ages may be distressingly close. God did not save the Roman Empire from collapsing. What hope have we?

There is no greater stimulus to the faith that God is doing something than the life and teachings of Jesus. He was certain that God will send his Kingdom. You will never build a better world unless there is a God who is building with you.

"For judgment came I into this world." Three words from John sum up what I have tried to say. Have you and I confessed our guilt?

"Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us and sent his Son, to be the propitiation for our sins."

Do we know that peace? Do we have that forgiveness?

"My Father worketh even until now and I work." Are we working with him?



capitalism has within itself the seeds of class conflict and class war.

And a fourth weakness—capitalism leads to war among nations. Property owners within the nations of the world, having productive equipment beyond what is needed to be sold at home, are impelled by the desire for profit to try to sell goods to people across the boundaries of their own country. Not only do they try to get rid of their own surpluses; but they reverse the process and, by tariff walls, build barriers to shut out the goods and money from other countries.

The small minority of big property owners—two hundred great American corporations own one third of our entire public wealth—is the minority that directs the nation. For, in a highly complex civilization, the ownership of industrial property carries with it not only the power to dominate economics, but to dominate government and politics—to a large extent by controlling the avenues of reaching the public mind. It is out of the stirring of the emotions with the dogmas of nationalism and the propaganda of capitalism that war comes.

If we want to see the real significance of the private ownership of the means of production, we must see it in these four aspects: It produces vast inequalities of economic privilege; it creates industrial inefficiency; it involves us in class strife and civil war; and it ends inevitably in international war.

**W**HAT needs to be done? First, we need to transfer from private ownership the chief sources of wealth beginning and continuing in this order: banking and credit, the sources of electric energy, water, light, gas, and so on, the means of transportation, the heavy machine industries, and finally by progressive stages succeed in trans-

## METHODIST YOUTH IN COUNCIL

Some such title will greet you on the cover of the report volume of the National Council of Methodist Youth, available about October 1. It will contain approximately 160 pages of reports on the deliberations of the council, including the principal addresses, the panel discussions and forums, and the complete text of the resolutions. This book will sell for fifty cents a copy, postpaid. Orders should be mailed to The Board of Education at Chicago.

ferring the mass productive and distributive agents to public ownership.

Second, we need to devise a scheme for operating these socialized industries democratically and scientifically after they have been transferred to public ownership. They should be operated without profit by the people who know and the people who have most at stake. In the case of coal mines, the people who know most about them are the engineers and the miners; the people with most at stake are the consumers. Let us say that we would have a National Board of Directors of the Coal Mines, consisting of five engineers, five miners, and five representatives of the Consumers' Coöperative Society. Until we reach the place where the consumers have a working organization, we could have the representatives of the public appointed by the President of the United States. Under such a plan as this, the means of production could be operated without profit for the good of the people, and so at the lowest cost.

Third, we need to divide up economic priv-

ilege on a basis of substantial equality. Some will say, "If you divide things equally, in six months it will be back where it was." But I am not talking about dividing wealth. I am opposed to dividing up the basic industries. I am talking about utilizing these industries coöperatively for the purpose of raising the standard of well-being. Not that the standard of living for the entire community must be the same, but there is an upper level of super-privilege and a lower level of under-privilege which must be altered so that there will be a tiny gap instead of the great chasm which now exists. Surely brotherhood and all high religious values demand something that approaches equality of economic well-being.

**A**ND now for the "how." How are we going to get this system transformed into the system we desire? There are a number of steps to be taken:

*We must change people's minds*, else the new system cannot be won without cataclysm, else we will drift over the precipice. Surely the time has come in religious institutions to put new and continual stress upon the necessity of loving God with our minds. Unless we can grapple intellectually with this problem, we are not going to get a new system.

*We need organization*—a triple economic organization. Unless the workers are organized in national unions, they will be impotent when confronted with a vast enemy, such as a single corporation which may have its officers represented on as many as ninety financial corporations with total assets of twenty billions.

There is a great need for consumers' organizations, and in the near future we may see America approaching the great dimensions  
(Continued on page 15)

## Office Girl

*Maisie spelled it "cantaloupe," but Miss Holbrook didn't, until Webster came to the rescue of a humble typist*

**THE STORY THUS FAR:** Maisie Carter finds typing at Main and Northrup's mail order house far different from studying archeology at college. There is Miss Holbrook, angular, spying supervisor with a voice like shoes scraping on the pavement. There are Cassie and Myrtle, with their stories of boy friends. Maisie thinks herself out of place, but she smiles anyhow.

### CHAPTER II—A MATTER OF SPELLING

**H**ERS was monotonous work, Maisie found. One letter after another, the paper thrust in the roller, pulled out again, an envelope addressed, then the whole shot into the wire basket to be picked up in bunches by the office boy, bound for that mysterious haven where signatures were affixed. From five minutes to eight until five o'clock, letter after letter, envelope after envelope, until her fingers froze with fatigue. Her ears ached from the impact of the phones, and her back grew limp from its one unending posture.

For this, every week Maisie received twenty dollars in a slim, brown envelope. She lived on that. But it took strict budgeting—five dollars for room, five more for food, with dinners and breakfasts prepared on her gas plate, lunches a dollar and a half, carfare eighty cents. That left her a fraction over seven dollars, which must be stretched to cover heavier laundry, powder, hose, tooth paste and eventually a new dress and hat. But when the week ended and there was still fifty cents or occasionally a dollar in the

By DOROTHY BLACK

purse in her bureau drawer, Maisie swelled with pride. She was supporting herself. She wrote home about it, glad she wasn't an extra burden for father, glad that Louise need not send bills from her own meager supply. Because of these letters Maisie forgot the grim routine of the office, the dull conversations at lunch and the infrequent movies that were her only entertainment. For in all the city, Maisie knew no person save those with whom she worked.

The thought of her independence carried her through the first few weeks, when weariness threatened to overcome her. Then gradually she began to get used to it all. Her eyes no longer ached when evening came, and her back lost its limpness. At night she wasn't so sleepy that bed was a deliciousness and a warm bath the supreme comfort. She began wishing there was something in the evenings for her to do. She took out a card at the branch library and read a good deal. Perhaps twice in one week she would permit herself a movie, and on special occasions, a milk shake at a corner drug store. But she began slowly to realize the dreariness of her cheap little room, with its faded davenport and bald rug and the smell of supper clinging to the air. It made her restless. She was almost glad of the impersonal efficiency of the office.

**T**HERE were six girls in Maisie's department beside herself. They were a little lonely nucleus in the mammoth departments that clustered the twelve floors of the establishment. Here in her little group the seven of them typed daily letters, answering the grievances of customers from Iowa and Kentucky and everywhere.

Maisie rather liked Dora the best. She was twenty-five and she had pretty hair, a pale yellow that curled naturally about her waxen face. She was thin chested and looked frail, but she didn't talk as much as the others. It was rather fun to eat lunch at Dora's table and be quiet in the midst of the clatter of trays and spoons. Sally was the one in front whose insecure bun of hair raveled slowly during the day. By five the hairpins flatly contradicted the law of gravity.

The other two, not including Myrtle, were Anna, who was a deep brunette with dark hairs apparent on her upper lip, and Janet, small and large eyed. She got along the best with Miss Holbrook. Janet had a way of looking helpless and appealing in contrast to Miss Holbrook's overpowering brusqueness. But Janet managed to accomplish an enormous amount of work with her fragile hands. Maisie discovered that of them all Myrtle alone had gone beyond high school. She had spent one year at an institution she called Jonesville, a year of which she was very proud. Maisie never found out whether or not it was a college.

For some reason, Myrtle must always keep





An Indiana woods in autumn (Century Photo)

SUMMER HAS GONE

By HESTER ELIZABETH BUELL

The end of summer  
Brings halcyon days,  
Wind-swept gardens,  
And leaf-strewn ways;

And all the wealth  
That hillsides hold,  
Flaming crimson  
And flaunting gold.

Sweet orchard odors,  
Corn to husk,  
Mists on the marshland,  
And through the dusk

The glimmer of pumpkins—  
Frost-chilled earth,  
Lone birds calling,  
And fireside mirth.

Summer has gone,  
With a soft-drawn sigh.  
"Southward! Southward!"  
The blackbirds cry.

Summer has gone,  
With a soft-drawn sigh.

a protecting eye on Maisie. She went to lunch when Maisie did, and recounted numerous tales of the "higher-ups" as well as stories of her family and its countless connections. She confided ways of getting along in the business world, methods to quell unwelcome suitors and encourage those who were more presentable. All of this made Maisie impotently furious, but there was nothing she could do about it. For Myrtle was something like a dog, wearying you with perpetual attention, but easily hurt by an affront. She did try to be kind. Even Maisie realized that. And she had to work with Myrtle, with all these girls whose desks impinged on her own. Better grin and bear it, she thought. But sometimes, hearing of Joe and his work in a bakery shop, Maisie rolled brutal words on her tongue and repeated them in her head, but she never flung them at Myrtle.

ONE evening Myrtle said to Maisie: "Let's go to a show somewhere. Joe's got to work to-night, and I'm not doing anything. Can you go?"

Maisie didn't want to go. But she hated the thought of her musty little room and the books that were growing stale. So she went with Myrtle and noticed how she rolled her jaws around her chewing gum and how noisily she drank grape juice after the show. She was embarrassed for Myrtle and glad to get away. Myrtle annoyed her. She couldn't like the girl, and for some reason, she couldn't dislike her either. It was a perplexing situation.

The girls were kind to Maisie, though. Most of them had worked there two or three years and could help her out with details about her work. But there was Miss Holbrook. Always Miss Holbrook. And Miss Holbrook, if she felt in the mood, could be very disagreeable indeed. There was that day she had found Anna eating candy. You couldn't help but hear; Miss Holbrook never bothered to lower her voice when she was reproofing someone.

"I should certainly think you'd know bet-

ter than that," she said, stridently. "You aren't a child in school, Anna. This is a business house. What will Mr. Charles have to say when he finds chocolate smears on his letters? What will the customers say? Didn't you have your lunch? Of course you did. I've told you before about eating when



HOLY GROUND

By J. EARLE WYCOFF

I see the orange-scarlet flames  
Of maples leaping toward the sky;  
Ablaze with crimson, splotted with gold,  
Like crackling bonfires, mounting high.

Against the blue of autumn's bowl  
The liquid colors merge and blend,  
As though, from out a golden urn,  
A ruby incense did ascend.

Small wonder Moses felt the call of God,  
When, in a waste-land grim,  
A tree that flamed from tip to sod  
Reached out its arms to him!

you're working. The next time I'm going to report you to Mr. Charles."

Mr. Charles was their big boss and he had an office remote on the highest floor and was known to most of them only by his signature. But he was the final authority. He had the power of hiring and firing. So that Miss Holbrook always used his name in her threats.

She stayed beside Anna a moment, looking at the girl's bent head, then picked up the nibbled candy bar and flung it into the wastebasket, among discarded typewriter ribbons, pencil shavings and carbon paper. Maisie was furious. That candy cost money. She gazed fiercely at Miss Holbrook's departing back.

Before they went home that evening, Maisie saw Anna lift the candy furtively from the wastebasket and brush off the shavings. She wrapped it in a piece of paper and took it out with her.

But Miss Holbrook seemed to take a delight in speaking sharply to Dora. There was something vulnerable about Dora. She had no defenses against wounding. Miss Holbrook must have sensed this, Maisie thought. When the supervisor was near, Dora's fingers grew clumsy and muddled the keys and her ears failed to catch the words from her ear phones. She wouldn't dare stop her work. And then Miss Holbrook would jerk the unfinished letter from the typewriter, cross out a misspelled word or correct an erasure, marking the letter with her red pencil so that it would have to be done all over again. It meant extra work for Dora; though when Miss Holbrook wasn't around, she seemed to get along all right.

Because Maisie had never encountered such a person, because in all her life people had been kind to her, her anger flamed out against Miss Holbrook. She never guessed at the pathos that was Miss Holbrook's. She just disliked her. It made her furious that the girls never seemed to strike back. All too meekly they took the cutting words.

MAISIE had her revenge. It was the day she was answering a letter concerning a package of seeds. She didn't know Miss Holbrook was beside her until a narrow finger pointed over her shoulder.

"Is that the way you spell?" Miss Holbrook inquired icily.

The word was cantaloupe.

"I believe so," Maisie said, also icily.

Miss Holbrook ripped the sheet from the typewriter, and circled the word with her red pencil. There, the whole letter to do over again! Maisie was conscious the other girls were listening.

"Just how do you spell it?" she asked.

"With an 'e,'" Miss Holbrook said. "It does look to me like you girls could spell properly."

Now Miss Holbrook was almost infallible, but not quite. And Maisie thought it worth the chance. Coolly, she said: "I'm sorry, but I believe you are wrong about that spelling. I'll look it up." She pulled her little red dictionary from her desk and looked up the word. There was no need to say anything. She just looked at Miss Holbrook.

"There are some words with two or more proper spellings," Miss Holbrook said, stiffly. "Please re-write the letter at once, Maisie."

Re-writing, Maisie chuckled to herself. The old duffer! She'd wriggle out of it some way. But that didn't change the glorious fact, the fact which Maisie rolled on her tongue like a sweet—Miss Holbrook had been wrong and she had pointed it out.

"You oughtn't to have done that," Myrtle told her at noon. "She won't ever forget it."

"Who cares?" Maisie said airily. She was too proud of herself to listen to Myrtle's forebodings. (To be continued)





# Recreation and Culture



## Recreation at the Council

**T**HE Editor of THE HERALD has kindly held open the forms for a last-minute word on the National Council of Methodist Youth. (The letters from Institute leaders of recreation will be printed on our next page, October 20.) You will read elsewhere in this issue, as well as in the published report of the council, the record of that tremendous event.

What does it mean to those who are interested in recreation and leisure-time activities? What does it mean for the social life of Methodist youth? It seems to me that this council says five things quite clearly to us about the relationship between our Methodist youth movement and our leisure.

1. *We have a job for our leisure hours.* Bishop Ralph S. Cushman told the delegates of the young Russian who worked in a factory on the regular shift and then after hours was one of the volunteers, known as "shock troopers," who were thrown into the breach wherever the need arose, in order to achieve the schedule of production. Just in that way the Methodist youth who have caught the vision which prevailed in our National Council must be prepared to go wherever the need arises and to throw themselves without reserve into the task of building a new world.

I think of some of our conference presidents, for example, James Corson, of California, or many others whom one might name, spending weeks of their time on the field and a generous share of their personal funds in order to carry on the work. The unselfish devotion and enthusiasm of many of our Christian youth is in no way excelled by the young Communists.

2. *We have a new standard of personal amusements.* When one has once been caught by the tremendous uplift which swept that great group of young people to new heights, he will begin to have a profound impatience with repeated arguments over such questions as: "Is it wrong to dance?" He will say frankly, "I am after bigger game. There is too much work to be done for me to waste my time over such pettiness." He may do his own thinking with respect to dancing, but for him leisure will mean increasingly the opportunity to carry on in the great movement of which he is a part.

3. *We discover new recreational resources.* The new leisure is assuming increasing proportions in our total program of life. We are learning that it is not enough merely to imitate the vendors of the wares of commercialized amusements. Forced back upon ourselves, we discover that the human race did not begin yesterday in this matter of leisure. Games that are older than our Western civilization may be taken down off the shelf of history, dusted off, and made the means of hours of delightful fellowship. The folkways of the nations are turning up for us—sometimes in the very persons of those like Peter Koinange, who came to the council with treasures from darkest Africa—in the form of folk games which not only delight us in our idle moments, but bind us in a universal fellowship.

4. *We find fellowship and fun in the doing of a great task.* We shall need those hours of relaxation—that principle of alternation between work and play; between the serious

*Edited for League Fourth Vice-Presidents  
and Social Chairmen*

**By OWEN M. GEER**

and the amusing. We must, in order to understand each other, learn how to play together as well as to work and think together. We have a great opportunity in our leisure hours—in the workshop or around the game table—to share our great enterprise with others.

5. *We have a positive rather than a negative attack.* Here is great strategy! Through the years the church has been saying, "Don't." Don't go to the dance; don't go to the movies; don't play cards; don't drink alcohol; don't go joy-riding. The genius of the new emphasis in leisure activities is to be found in "Do" rather than "Don't." We have at our command only a limited amount of time. We are anxious to know how to spend it wisely. The new program of leisure is saying, "Spend it in the things that provide permanent satisfactions; that leave no bad taste in the mouth." We who are responsible for the recreation program have the joyous task of introducing our groups to the vast realm of interesting "things to do." That emphasis will make it unnecessary for us to spend our time discussing "Don'ts."

## A Change in Our Recreation Department

I want to take the opportunity to express for our fourth vice-presidents across the country a word of appreciation for the splendid work which Miss Marian Sorber has been doing as assistant in the recreation field. She worked with Chester Bower and has continued to help me until this fall. A general shift in office relationships has placed Miss Sorber in the field of world peace and brought Miss Harriet Lewis to the work of assistant director in recreation. Miss Lewis was a delegate to the National Council from Wheaton, Ill., and an honorary delegate from Great Falls, Mont. At the National Council she was elected chairman of recreation and leisure. These two responsibilities are, of course, complementary parts of the same task. We welcome Miss Lewis to the field of recreation and ask her to say a few words to you:

"Greetings, Fellow Workers!

"Our National Council has marked a milestone in our program. From this we must prepare to take great strides toward the building of a better world. Central Office is fairly humming with activity and plans for the fall and winter program, and the recreation department is hereby sending out a call for suggestions to be incorporated into the program. It is *our* program—not the program of Central Office alone, but that of Methodist youth in all sections of our country. Let's cooperate in providing education and a program for leisure time that will make a definite contribution to the great task ahead.

"For those of you who were unable to attend the council at Evanston, let me give you just a peek at our adventures in creative leisure at the council. Through the various activities, we aimed to provide relaxation, more intimate fellowship with others, and skills and enthusiasms for better recreation at home. In order to give individual choice, a variety of activities was offered, some of which were: art appreciation, singing folk songs and spirituals, playing traditional games from Africa, Asia, Europe (games which have been brought down from the 'shelves of history and dusted off' to provide real and lasting fun for us); participation in English, Danish, and American country dances and singing games; handicrafts and shopwork; and outdoor activities, such as archery, photography, and nature lore.

"Under the splendid leadership of a group of interested people, we found release and relaxation—to say nothing of the fellowship and fun—and were ready to go back to each council session with new energy. We have seen a new light! We have linked ourselves with a great line of human interest coming down to us from the rich culture of the past, and are ready to climb on upward to new heights in cultural development. The trail will never cease to be interesting if we climb together. Thus, as members of the World-Wide Comradeship of Methodist Youth, we can share in working with God for a new world.

"HARRIET D. LEWIS."

## Toward a Christian Economic Order

(Continued from page 9)

this movement has gained in Europe. Voters must be organized that we may be banded together politically.

What I have been talking about is Christian socialism; I have laid before you a socialistic program from a Christian point of view. We have been considering how we can bring in a Christian economic order. In trying to follow the teachings of Jesus, in trying to reproduce his way of life, we have been grappling with the basic problem of property. A conference that deals with the problem of property *must* be a religious conference, if it is going to be of any value. And so, from a religious point of view, we have been deciding what changes need to be made, and we can go about making them. It is all part of our theme: "Working with God for a Better World."

## THE QUESTION BOX

The director of the Department of Recreation and Culture is opening a question box for this page. Each month one significant question will appear and the best answers to that question will be printed the following month. Here is the question for this month: *Certain objections have been raised concerning folk dancing. Some have said that it is merely jazz dancing under a different name; that it leads to the social dance and is kid stuff. What is your opinion of the relative merits of social dancing and of folk dancing?*

Answers should be sent to Owen M. Geer, 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill., by October 1.





## Something Has Happened

**T**HE people of Evanston and the First Methodist Church became aware that something had happened when the delegates to the National Council of Methodist Youth began to arrive. They came from nearly every state in the union—more than a thousand of them when preparations were made for from five to seven hundred.

Something had happened in hundreds of churches and rallies and in the hearts of thousands of young people to have caused so many of them to save and sacrifice that they might share in a program whose theme was: "Working with God for a New World."

"Something is happening!" was the exclamation of many adults as they met in the crowded halls of the church between the sessions. Here was something really different from other meetings. Everybody was concerned about the new life and the new outlook on life that was presented.

What has happened here at Evanston will be more fully realized when these young people and adult friends who shared the experience with them return home and begin to carry out the following recommendation, which was adopted on the last great day of the council:

We recommend to the members of the council the following means of attaining deeper spiritual growth:

1. That young people set aside a period each day for Bible study, prayer, meditation, and devotion.

2. That young people make it a part of their daily living to seek contact with Christian personalities and regularly to practice Christian deeds.

3. That, since we believe personal religion to be a growing experience, young people make it their responsibility to exert a definite effort to continue in their study of Christianity and its applications, and that young people attending colleges and universities take advantage of any opportunities to make a thorough study of religion.

4. That young people make a careful study of the materials, methods, and attitudes of growth used by dynamic persons.

5. That young people make a definite effort to read devotional literature such as THE EPWORTH HERALD and other young people's periodicals.

The something that has happened here can be repeated in every local church. For one of the final admonitions given the delegates was that each of them should have a long talk with his pastor (they were reminded they would not have been at the council if it had not been for their pastors) and just at the point where the warm heart of youth and the anxious heart of the pastor meet there will be struck the spark that can kindle a fire, to illumine, warm, and give power to the whole church.

### The Sincerity and Earnestness of Youth

On other pages of this paper will be found summaries of some of the addresses and a digest of the resolutions and the recommendations that were adopted. And soon

there is to be published a volume which will contain a more complete report. But these reports cannot give an adequate conception of the sincerity and the earnestness with which these young people tried to discover for themselves the significance of Jesus for personal faith and for living in a day of social crises. Those who were here will ponder, for a long time to come, their notes on Dr. Clarence Tucker Craig's searching address on that theme.

It will be a long time before there will fade from my memory the picture of that earnest young fellow, dressed for the hike he made to come to the conference, as he sat hunched over on the front seat looking like Rodin's "Thinker." I can see him now as he arose and with a searching earnestness asked the three theologians who had been discussing the significance of Jesus for this modern day: "Tell me what is a Christian to do in a town where there is a strike that involves the members of your church and of your family, and where violence is advocated and practiced?" His question still stirs me: "What can I, as a Christian, do?"

Unless you can go back of such recommendations as that the General Conference be asked to "take action to completely disassociate our church from sanction of or participation in any war," that there "be organized a general walkout against military training in our schools and colleges," that "the members pledge themselves not to eat in any restaurant serving liquor," that "the delegates go back to their churches and communities to secure the passage of resolutions urging the federal government to continue its policy of feeding the striking textile workers," that "the Commission on the Hymnal be urged to eliminate war imagery from hymns and psalter"—unless you can go back of these and the other recommendations and resolutions and realize how these young people are thwarted in their pleas for life and baffled by the confusion of their elders, and remember that they are our own young people, boys and girls from our homes, our Sunday Schools, Epworth Leagues, and churches—unless you have a sympathetic understanding—you will be misled by the vicious newspaper report which declared that Methodist young people were atheists and had gone communistic.

### A Declaration of Faith

Toward its close the council adopted the following declaration of faith:

We, the National Council of Methodist Youth, have been facing for the last three days the vital social and economic issues of our day. Realizing that we cannot accomplish these ideals of building a new world without the personal religious growth, we present the following items for your consideration:

I. Resolved that we make the following statements of our belief:

1. We affirm our belief in God, the Father of all men.

2. We affirm our belief in Jesus Christ

and his power and program to redeem the individual and society.

3. We affirm our belief in the Holy Spirit as sufficient as a dynamic for Christian living.

4. We affirm our belief in the church as an institution offering the opportunity for Christian fellowship and highest spiritual development.

5. We affirm our belief in the Bible as a record of man's progressive experience with God.

6. We affirm our belief in the kingdom of God as realizable in the here and now through the incarnation of the spirit of love in our individual and social living.

### Youth and Maturity Together

That this was a Council of Methodist Youth, controlled and directed by young people, is evident not only by what some will call the immaturity of the pronouncements but also by what did not come out of the council. There were adults present (about one third of the delegates were over twenty-five years of age), but the voting was done by the young people. However, the adults were allowed to vote at the request of the young people, and once or twice the young people took advantage of the situation to make their elders go on record. Each time the adults won the applause of their young people.

The effort of some of the oldsters to get the council to advocate a term of episcopacy and some other well-worn issues failed. But let no one imagine that these young people did not value the contributions that their elders could make. It was something new in a conference to hear a young man or a young woman secure the floor and say, "I ask the floor for ———" (naming some adult). This conference offered a splendid example of how youth and age must work together to meet the present world crisis, where, to use Walter Pitkin's phrase, "The youngest of the old guide the oldest of the young."

The program was planned to do just that. The addresses were to make real and vivid the present world situation with the dilemmas that confront youth and the great task of working with God for a new world.

As the significance and the greatness of the task began to press upon them, the young people were helped to see the significance of Jesus for personal faith and living in a day of social crises and how the new person for the new world can be developed.

Having listened to the youngest of the old, the oldest of the young demanded an opportunity to discuss the problems which they considered vital, and also for an opportunity for action. Then came findings and resolutions, which are recorded elsewhere.

Perhaps the action that will be most far-reaching in its influence was the organization of a national council, consisting of a delegate not over twenty-five years of age from each conference and mission group, to meet once a year, and the creation of a continuation executive committee. The continuing officers of the council are: Hayes Beall, president; Juanita Jackson, vice-president; Clodette Tompkins, secretary; and these executive



## A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

An Address by  
Kirby Page, Editor, The World Tomorrow  
at the  
Student Volunteer Convention  
Buffalo, New York, December 30, 1931.

---

"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Countless millions of Christians have been voicing this prayer for nineteen centuries. But it must be admitted that many of those who have thus prayed have failed to realize the real significance of their petition. Every time we pray, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth," we are asking for fundamental and radical changes in the present social order. No sane person could possibly mistake this existing world for the Family of God on earth. Before the ideal society can be achieved, drastic changes must be made in the status quo. It is my purpose in this address to attempt a critical analysis of certain aspects of Western civilization in the light of the religion of Jesus.

The extreme gravity of the world crisis with which we are now confronted can scarcely be exaggerated. An ominous prophecy is found in a letter written several months ago by Governor Norman of the Bank of England to Governor Moret of the Bank of France: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year. I should like this prediction to be filed for future reference." Sir Arthur Salter, for many years head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, in reviewing the international situation in the last issue of the Yale Review, said: "This is a sombre, and indeed a terrifying, prospect. The foundations of the system under which we have grown up are threatened. Many of the institutions which have been the main pillars of our economic and political structure may be destroyed or profoundly modified."

"A paralysis which we do not seem to be able to diagnose has overtaken our machine civilization," writes Raymond B. Fosdick in the New York Times. "The year 1931 has seen this creeping paralysis fasten itself with a surer hold on the industry of the world. Fifteen nations, involving more than a quarter of the population of the globe, have been forced off the gold standard. Ten countries have defaulted on their external obligations. Revolution and social disorder have affected nearly half the people in the world. The anxiety that marked the passing of 1930 has deepened. Today the future seems far more uncertain than it did twelve months ago.... Western civilization has begun to look furtively around, listening behind it for the silent tread of some dread specter of destruction."

Let us now examine some of the reasons for alarm.

1. The contrast between plenty and poverty is one of the marked characteristics of our present society. Due to the unparalleled scientific and technological progress of the past century, industry is now able to produce goods in vastly greater quantities than can be sold. Every branch of industry is equipped to produce from two to ten times as many goods as can profitably be disposed of, with the result that we have overproduction all along the line. On the farm, as well as in the city, improved machinery has made available an output far in excess of the purchasing ability of the world market. Warehouses are therefore bursting with goods and granaries are overflowing with food.

Control of land, natural resources and the tools of production, has enabled a small minority to accumulate wealth on a scale that was not dreamed of even by kings in past generations. If a millionaire be roughly classified as an individual with an annual income of \$50,000, there were 38,889 millionaires in the United States in 1929, and 19,688 in 1930. In the former year 513 individuals reported an income in excess of one million dollars, and in the latter year the number was 149. In 1930 the number of individuals whose incomes reached \$25,000 was only 60,236, yet the amount of tax they paid was 396 million dollars, out of 474 millions paid by all citizens of the United States. That is to say, less than one-eleventh of one per cent of the adult population paid 83 per cent of the total amount of income tax received by the United States government. In 1929 the number of incomes above \$25,000 was 102,578, and their total tax was 928 millions, out of 1001 millions received by the treasury. Less than one-seventh of one per cent paid 92 per cent of the income tax!



Elsewhere I have published figures for 1929, which vary slightly from the above due to the fact that they were taken from the Preliminary Report issued by the Treasury Department.

Below the millionaire level there are perhaps half a million Americans who are moderately rich. It is to these fortunate few that advertisements of a mink coat at \$6,000, a motor car at \$10,000, and a small yacht at \$100,000 are directed. For the upper classes, America is a paradise of luxury.

Yet poverty abounds. In the midst of stores and shops bursting with every imaginable necessity, comfort and luxury, and in a land where agricultural products in many sections are selling at prices which are absolutely ruinous to the farmers, millions of Americans are facing actual starvation and must be kept alive by charity, while other multitudes endure terrible privations and are not far removed from destitution. Income tax figures reveal a tragic story. In 1930 only 3,376,552 persons filed income tax returns, and only 1,946,675 individuals were required to pay any income tax whatever. The law requires every resident to file a return if, as an unmarried person, his income reaches \$1500 per year, and if, as a man with a wife or family, the amount is \$3500 annually. There are some 72 million persons in this country who have reached the age of twenty-one. Less than three persons out of one hundred pay any income tax whatever.

In the year 1920, when single individuals were required to file income tax returns if their income was as high as \$1000, with \$2000 as the level for married persons, only 7,259,944 returns were filed and of these only 5,518,310 were taxable. That is, even during the post-war boom and with the taxable minimum at such a low figure, an income tax was paid by only nine per cent of the adult population. At the peak of prosperity in 1928 less than four per cent of the adults in this country paid an income tax.

The six millions of unemployed in the United States (it may be seven or eight millions) are desperately eager to find work in order that they may earn the money with which to buy the food and goods which are available in such illimitable quantities. But our capitalist society is so badly organized that these multitudes continue to walk the streets in a vain endeavor to find employment. And when they do find work, the pay for two-thirds of them is inadequate to provide a satisfactory standard of living.

The volume of physical suffering in this country is now so appalling that relief measures are obviously imperative. Upholders of the system of individualism are usually opposed to compulsory unemployment insurance, on the ground that the "dole" is demoralizing, and advocate the American plan of private charity. As if bread lines and soup kitchens are not the most degrading types of the dole! Under the leadership of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, a vast campaign to secure gifts for the needy has been promoted throughout the nation. Mr. Gifford's committee has estimated that 170 million dollars will be required for unemployment relief in 314 cities, in addition to the normal budget of 90 millions for charity in these communities. If the various committees actually secure 170 million dollars for unemployment relief, this amount will make available \$170 each for one million unemployed. That is to say, less than one unemployed person out of six will receive a bare subsistence for ten or twelve weeks!

The inadequacy of the American dole system is further revealed by the record of drought relief during the past year. President Hoover is opposed to Federal appropriations for relief purposes. Instead, he advocates the American plan of private charity. Some months ago he maintained that the Red Cross would be abundantly able to provide drought relief in the stricken areas. How adequately this task was accomplished is shown in a recent report of that society, which reveals that food and supplies were doled out to more than 2,500,000 persons during the period between August, 1930, and June, 1931. And the total amount expended by the Red Cross for relief purposes during this period was less than eleven million dollars - an average of less than five dollars per person!

The extent of destitution in Europe is far more tragic than in this country. For ten consecutive winters there has been a terrible degree of unemployment in England and wholesale starvation has been prevented only by a system of unemployment insurance which is so roundly condemned on this side of the ocean. The number of unemployed in Germany has climbed to five millions, with at least fifteen million persons directly involved. From an authoritative source, we learn that of the 32,500,000 persons in Germany who are gainfully employed, 29,500,000 or 91 per cent, earn less than \$50 per month, while 50 per cent receive less than \$25 per month.



When next we pray the Lord's prayer, let us be vividly conscious of the contradiction presented by an appalling volume of hunger and destitution in a world of overproduction and luxury.

2. The menace of class war constitutes one of the most ominous aspects of Western civilization. Everywhere the lines of industrial battle are tightening. Germany is on the very brink of a violent upheaval. The day of armed conflict between the Communists and the Fascists of that country draws nearer. The Tory landslide in England has driven British labor to the left and has enormously embittered the class struggle in the British Isles. In the United States the third consecutive winter of severe unemployment is causing such terrible misery that class consciousness and class hatred are spreading rapidly. The owning and employing class in general is so powerful and arrogant and blind that it will be a miracle if the workers are not provoked into desperate and violent efforts to secure justice.

The world has never seen such a consolidation of financial and industrial power as we are now witnessing in the United States. Through the device of the modern corporation, ownership of industry is diffused, but control is concentrated. Small boards of directors not only control their own huge fortunes, but also dominate the pools of invested capital which represent the savings of multitudes of investors. Professor Gardiner C. Means of Columbia University in a recent article in the American Economic Review has estimated that the 200 largest American corporations control between 35 and 45 per cent of all business wealth, and that these 200 corporations in turn are controlled by less than 2,000 directors. This enormous power enables these directors to dominate the distribution of the proceeds of industry. In a recent article in the Atlantic Monthly, Professor Sumner H. Slichter quotes the estimate of the Monthly Survey of Business that dividend disbursements by American corporations in the disastrous year of 1930 were actually 65 per cent higher than in 1928, whereas the wages paid by these corporations dropped 19 per cent during the same period! Dividends up and wages down! Power!

When the workers attempt to organize effective trade unions in the hope that by collective bargaining they may be able to obtain a more equitable share of the proceeds of industry, they are frequently met with ruthless opposition from the employers. In many sections of the country, workers in order to secure employment are compelled to sign "yellow dog" contracts that they will not join labor unions. Many corporations make it a practice to discharge union members or "agitators". An industrial spy system is maintained by many corporations in order to weed out advocates of unionism. In many mining communities the coal companies own all the houses or shacks in which the miners live and are able therefore to use eviction as a means of suppressing labor organizations. Yet when miners under these circumstances strike for better standards, they are often looked upon as dangerous characters. They are not infrequently terrorized by armed strike-breakers and private guards, and sometimes even by "officers of the law."

The experiences of Arnold Johnson in Kentucky during the past summer shed light upon the tactics sometimes employed by the operators. Mr. Johnson, formerly secretary to Sherwood Eddy and now a student at Union Theological Seminary, went to Harlan County, Kentucky, as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union, for the purpose of aiding in relief work and helping to secure justice for the miners. He was soon accused of being an organizer for the I.W.W. and warned by "operators, judge and sheriff" to get out of town. When he refused to be intimidated, he was arrested on a charge of criminal syndicalism, that is, advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Government. The evidence produced in court to prove this charge was utterly ridiculous, nothing more harmful being cited than the fact that among the papers seized in his room was a pamphlet published by the American Civil Liberties Union upholding free speech for radicals. No effort was made to prove that Johnson had advocated the violent overthrow of government, or even that he had circulated literature which advocated the use of violence for this purpose. Solely on the charge that he had in his possession certain literature which was deemed objectionable by the judge, he was thrown in jail. When Johnson refused to permit his friends to advance the exorbitant bail of \$10,000 demanded, he was kept in prison for 37 days - and then released without bail or without trial!

The domination of the region by the coal operators includes unwavering loyalty from their former employees and other supporters who are elected as sheriffs and judges. Thousands of men throughout Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and other coal states are victims of even more flagrant miscarriages of justice than that of which Arnold Johnson was the victim. Additional evidence could have been secured by the Wickersham Commission for its report on "lawlessness in law enforcement" if its



representatives had examined the situation in this area. In a report recently issued the Wickersham Commission said: "Physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow access of counsel to the prisoner is common....confessions of guilt frequently are unlawfully extorted by the police from prisoners by means of cruel treatment...When all allowances are made, it remains beyond doubt that the practice is shocking in its character and extent, violative of American traditions and institutions, and not to be tolerated."

The class struggle is accentuated by the success of Soviet Russia in establishing a workers' dictatorship. The Russian system is provocative because it terrifies many owners of industry in other lands and tends to make them more ruthless in suppressing workers' organizations, and because, on the other hand, it incites the class-conscious workers elsewhere to attempt the violent overthrow of capitalism in their own lands. An ominous aspect of communist propaganda in the United States is the effort to enlist Negroes and train them for the day of armed revolution, thus making still more inflammatory the relations between the races.

To speak of the menace of class war is not to deny that the revolution has destroyed many ancient evils and has brought numerous blessings to the people of Russia. That the masses are better off than they were under the tyranny of the czars is not open to question in view of the available evidence. It is wholly probable, moreover, that the peoples of the earth will eventually be the beneficiaries of certain aspects of the Russian experiment. Out of this titanic convulsion will come both good and evil for humanity. But the evidence is cumulatively clear to me that the peoples of Germany, England, the United States and other highly industrialized countries can never create an equitable society by violent revolution. In four vital respects conditions in these lands differ from those presented in Russia. The rank and file in Russia have never known freedom; they have never known prosperity; industry was in its infancy in 1917, and the country was predominantly agricultural; and due to the utter collapse of the czarist regime under the colossal burdens of the World War, the Bolsheviks met with relatively feeble opposition. In a country like the United States, however, in spite of terrible poverty for many, standards of living have been relatively high and comparative prosperity has been widespread. The masses have been nurtured on a tradition of individual liberty, and in spite of the vast power of a financial and industrial autocracy, have enjoyed a wide range of freedom. To induce such people to submit to dictatorship and enforced privation in order to consolidate the revolution would be infinitely more difficult than has been the case in Russia. Moreover, the United States is highly industrialized and the dislocation produced by violent revolution would create utter chaos and wholesale starvation. Then too, the owning class in this country is so powerful that a successful revolution would require months and perhaps years of armed hostilities. Prolonged civil war in a highly complex industrial society would cause unparalleled devastation and misery. It is therefore evident that class war cannot be reconciled with the ideal of the Family of God on earth.

3. The race between war and peace is the most immediately alarming aspect of modern society. That there will be another world war within the next decade is freely prophesied by numerous observers of world trends. Economic competition among the great powers is becoming more terrific. The struggle for control of raw materials and markets grows more relentless. Tariff walls are being raised higher and higher. War debt and reparation payments rest with crushing weight upon standards of living and tend to strangle international commerce. Discriminatory immigration laws are bitterly resented in many quarters. The pressure of population in several countries accentuates their need for room to expand. Between Italy and France a dangerous tension prevails. Soviet Russia is feverishly preparing to repel an anticipated attack by a coalition of capitalist powers, while in other countries there is a deep fear of the Red Army and Communist propaganda.

The crisis in Manchuria may yet engulf not only China and Japan, but Russia, Great Britain and other Western nations. Personally I am still confident that the League of Nations will in the end win a tremendous victory in preventing the annexation of Manchuria by Japanese militarists, but one cannot yet be sure of a happy outcome. Relations between France and Germany are extremely ominous. Unless reparation payments are drastically reduced, and unless new credits are forthcoming to enable Germany to meet her short time obligations which soon fall due, there is reason to be apprehensive that the misery and desperation of the peoples



will lead to a violent seizure of power by the Fascists or by the Communists. Both of these extremes have indicated that if they come into power they will repudiate the Treaty of Versailles, refuse to pay any reparations whatever, refuse to keep Germany unarmed, and will cease to cooperate with the League of Nations and other international agencies of justice. The attempt to establish a dictatorship either of the right or the left would not only lead to civil war in Germany, it would strengthen the forces of chauvinism and reaction throughout the world.

Two momentous conferences are to assemble within the next few weeks: the economic conference on reparations and war debts at the Hague on January 18th, and the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva on February 2nd. Vast issues are at stake in these two conferences. For good or evil they will make history on a grand scale.

At this critical period, when the fires of international fear and hatred are burning furiously, the militarists of the various countries are pouring oil on the flames by campaigns of military preparedness. Everywhere efforts are being made to militarize the public mind by singing the old songs: war is inevitable; preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace; treaties of peace and international agencies of justice are futile unless backed by armed force. Through the press, on the platform, over the radio, through the movie and other available devices, a vigorous effort is being made to convince the public that only in armaments can security and justice be maintained. In the United States two years' military training is required of all students in some 90 colleges and universities and in some 25 high schools. Approximately 145,000 American students are taking courses in military training and are being indoctrinated with the theory of armed preparedness.

Vituperative attacks are being made upon pacifists who renounce the whole war system and seek to replace it by creating an adequate peace system. "Pacifists and other radicals emulating the crime of Judas Iscariot," writes Lt. Col. Lee Alexander Stone, Military Intelligence, O.R.C.; U.S.A., "are seeking to throw to the four winds the joy freedom brings. Pacifism and cowardice are synonymous terms, therefore one readily can believe that the seed from which a pacifist was conceived was originally yellow in color, for certainly the pacifist is yellow all through in his attitude toward society.... Pacifists approve the signing of the slacker's oath, the rape of religion, the subsidizing of the press, and the defeat of the Constitution of the United States. They approve any method that would destroy the Stars and Stripes and put the Red Flag at the head of the mast."

In commenting on the results of a recent poll of clergymen on war and peace conducted by The World Tomorrow and which revealed the fact that 10,427 ministers went on record as declaring their intention not to support or participate in any future war, an editorial in the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal says: "It is a matter of great surprise to find so many supposedly intelligent American citizens willing to preach treason against their country by advising against national defense. It is interesting, if not pleasant, to contemplate the number of telegraph poles that would be adorned by white cravats, re-enforced by hempen neckties, should another war be declared - which, may heaven forbid - to test the 'loyalty' of these anti-patriots..... The event of a war and the active participation of the clergy against national defense, to which so many have pledged themselves, would give us a brand new national sport: gunning for clergymen."

If mankind continues to squander its substance upon armaments and then stumbles and staggers into another war, there will be no victor but only vanquished. It has been predicted that by 1945 there will be one million airplanes in the United States alone. Men have already flown at the rate of seven miles per minute and have covered five thousand miles without a stop. Deadlier and yet deadlier poison gas is available. Surely it is obvious that reliance upon the war system cannot lead to the creation of the Family of God on earth.

4. The impotence of governments in dealing effectively with the problems which menace our society constitutes another threatening aspect of Western civilization. Democracy is everywhere under attack. In a dozen countries dictatorships have supplanted democratic processes and elsewhere representative government functions badly. The bankruptcy of the leadership in the United States has been illuminatingly revealed by a recent book entitled Oh Yeah? The compiler has assembled in chronological order various statements and prophecies made by outstanding leaders during the present depression. When these various utterances are read in sequence, and compared with actual happenings they reveal the abysmal ignorance of our best minds concerning the trend of events.



The foreign policy of the United States is becoming increasingly significant to the rest of the world. What we do about war debts, tariffs, armaments, the World Court and the League of Nations may determine the outcome of the race between war and peace. Yet on all these issues, Congress is as likely to adopt a fatal policy as it is to make a wise decision. The evidence is conclusive that we shall never be able to collect the huge sums due in war debt payments and that continued efforts to collect these amounts will prove disastrous to international commerce and may lead to war. High tariff walls in an interdependent world are stifling and strangling at best, and at worst may destroy international friendship and peace. To continue the race of armaments and to withhold cooperation from the World Court and the League of Nations is to invite international suicide. Therefore, witnessing Congress in action intensifies one's apprehensions for the future. While the graft and corruption in state and municipal governments are sufficient to produce despair.

When we come to examine the reasons for the prevailing ineffectiveness and impotence of democratic processes, we discover the operation of four factors. First, under a system of individualism, based upon self-interest as the motivation and competition as the method, it is wholly probable that most politicians will follow the example of business men in securing the maximum individual reward for themselves and their clients. To eulogize self-interest in business and to condemn it in politics leads to a fatal contradiction. Second, as long as citizens in general are motivated by self-interest, they are likely to be indifferent to government, except as their own pocketbooks are directly involved, and will remain untrained in the science of citizenship. Third, in an industrial society where the tremendous power of a financial and economic autocracy is felt in every remote corner, political democracy is doomed to impotence, for the obvious reason that in the existing world, economic power transcends and dominates political forces. The cure for democracy has ever been more democracy. A fourth reason is found in the unwillingness of the voters to support the Socialist Party or any other party committed to the task of transforming capitalism into a more equitable society. The recent New York City election reveals the inertia and stupidity of the voters. Although the Seabury Commission had produced evidence which had driven six or eight judges from the bench because of fraud and corruption, and although the direct relation of Tammany with these debauches was well established, the voters returned Tammany candidates to office with unprecedented majorities. For example, the Tammany candidate running against Norman Thomas, probably the most intelligent and hopeful figure in American politics, polled more than five times the Socialist vote.

Since it is obvious that the sphere of government becomes more extended and significant as society becomes more complex and interdependent, the supremely crucial question is this: can we produce intelligent and public spirited leaders in sufficient numbers, and can the voters be trained to follow such leadership?

#### CONCLUSION

Due to limitations of time, this analysis is obviously incomplete and inadequate. Race prejudice and hostility, lawlessness and crime, the cancer of secularism, the confusion in the realm of moral standards and values, the pathetic weakness and timidity of organized religion - all these deserve an emphasis which it is not possible to give in the brief period at my disposal.

That my analysis has been one-sided is apparent to all. There are brighter and more hopeful aspects of Western civilization. I myself once edited a volume entitled Recent Gains in American Civilization. Moreover, it is obvious that I have not offered solutions for the various problems presented. I have rigorously confined myself to the theme which was assigned to me by the committee in charge of the convention program, namely, a critical analysis of certain aspects of Western civilization. Other speakers and leaders will discuss ways out of the dangerous situation in which our society finds itself. The convention book-store has assembled a wide range of literature dealing with the various problems under consideration. Many months and even years, will be required before any student can fully equip himself for leadership. Indeed, all of us together do not at present know the way out of the darkness into the light of an equitable society. Our generation has been too absorbed in the struggle for profit and power to explore the pathways that lead to a socialist commonwealth. Too few experiments in social planning and social control have been inaugurated and cultivated. The frantic struggle for private gain and the deification of force have blinded us to the values of a cooperative society and the efficacy of non-violent methods of achieving a worthy end.



The odds are heavily against us. The visible evidence furnishes numerous reasons for apprehension concerning the future. The prospects for the days just ahead are exceedingly gloomy. Two possible courses of action are open to all of us as we stand confronted with terrifying threats to our civilization. We may yield to despair and decide to eat, drink and be merry for a few delirious months or years.

On the other hand, we may regard the terrible odds against us as a challenge, an opportunity and a privilege. We may conclude that the times are too serious for trifling and, turning our backs upon the insane struggle for private gain, commit ourselves resolutely to the life-long endeavor to transform modern civilization into a society which may appropriately be called the Family of God on earth, standing ready to go wherever vision and duty call. The pathway to the ideal community leads past the place of crucifixion upward to the triumphant summit of joy over the supreme achievements of glimpsing the promised land. Travelers along this highway are privileged to draw heavily upon the inexhaustible resources of the Great Pioneer and Eternal Friend.

In April or May, 1932, Creative Living, by Kirby Page will appear from the press. Part I. outlines ten steps toward creative living, and Part II. contains 100 daily readings which amplify the significance of these ten steps. Persons sending their names to Kirby Page, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, will be sent further information when the volume is ready.





As Rochester District's representatives started for the Council. They are, left to right: Joseph Anderson, Harold Newman, Erma Newman, Cynthia Thompson and Shirley Bodenstein

## Social Problems

*Here are some questions for consideration at the National Council of Methodist Youth*

By KIRBY PAGE

WHEN war comes as a bolt from the sky most men stagger into it with only a feeble understanding of its causes and only the faintest glimmer of an idea as to the consequences which will flow from it. Like blind and dumb sheep, they are stampeded by passion and propaganda into endless miles of trenches where they fight like wild beasts and where many of them perish like rats.

Am I clear in my own mind as to why nations go to war? How much truth is there in the assertion that Germany caused the World War and that the Allies were compelled to fight in self-defense? If the United States had followed the advice of Secretary Bryan and warned American citizens that if they went into the blockaded zone or sent their commodities they must do so at their own risk, is it probable that this country would have been invaded by Germany? Or by England? To what extent did the United States succeed in protecting property and life by going to war? What is meant by the statement that war results from collisions and explosions produced by nationalism and capitalism?

Between wars most citizens are utterly indifferent to international problems and fail to lift even a little finger in behalf of world peace. As soon as war is ended veterans long to forget all about their loathsome experiences. Yet many band themselves together in patriotic organizations and seek to propagate the very doctrines and policies which dragged millions into previous wars. A new generation grows up without personal experience of war and many of its members see only the glitter and glamour of military life.

Am I exerting myself effectively in behalf of world peace? If not, why not? Why has the United States thus far refused to assume membership in the World Court and the League of Nations? To what degree is the Pact of Paris (Briand-Kellogg Treaty) an adequate substitute for the League of Na-

tions? Why has the League proved to be so relatively impotent in dealing with the most threatening international situations? What are the chief causes of the failure of the World Disarmament Conference? Why did the World Economic Conference end so disastrously? Evaluate the validity of the following statement: "World peace cannot be assured until radical changes are made in capitalism and nationalism."

In various countries members of the younger generation are rising up in protest against the stupidity and destructiveness of

modern war, and many are declaring publicly that they will never sanction or participate in any future war. At Oxford University a large majority of the members of the Oxford Union joined in an assertion that they would never fight for king or country. Similar declarations have been made by students in numerous other colleges and universities throughout the world.

What stand would I take personally if confronted with the crisis of war? Can wholesale hatred and mass slaughter be reconciled with Jesus' admonition to love enemies and to forgive seventy times seven? When placed under the necessity of choosing between loyalty to government and loyalty to enlightened conscience, what should a Christian youth do? In wartime does a Christian accomplish more for the cause of his Master by going into the trenches or by going to jail as a conscientious objector? Should a Christian take military training?

Many Christians are now saying that international war emerges from the greed and strife inherent in capitalism. If citizens within a country operate on a basis of self-interest and competition (that is, greed and strife), it is natural that governments should be dominated by the doctrine of national interest and should engage in a race of armaments. H. N. Brailsford has written an illuminating volume which bears a highly significant title, *PROPERTY OR PEACE*. He maintains that we must choose between the system of private property as the chief means of production and distribution and world peace. It is his contention that we cannot have both. It must be property or peace.

Have I made a serious effort to understand the real nature and significance of the present economic order? How explain the fact that investors as a class now have more money than can be safely and profitably invested, while vast multitudes lack funds with which to purchase bare necessities? What are the essential differences between capitalism, fascism, communism, and socialism? Which of these alternatives is most hostile to Jesus' way of life, and which one most closely approximates the Christian ideal for society?

## A New Person for a New World

*Some promptings to meditation at the council—alone or shared*

By REGINA WESTCOTT-WIEMAN

THE word "new" sounds hopeful; it stirs our imaginations. We tend to hold our breath and sense a thrill over the possibilities just beyond sight. We do, until we begin to think, and think hard. Then there comes the elementary knowledge that two points determine the direction of a straight line. That future, lying vaguely in the mists, is inescapably a projection of the line drawn through the past and through the present. The past we cannot change. We have many visions of a future which shall surpass this past. We want change there. Breathless anticipation will not bring it. Even dreams will not bring it, though they may help to clarify the form and direction of the change that needs to come. It is only by working on the present that the future change can be wrought—the present, myself, and my situation, here and now.

The past, through memory, must translate itself into the wisdom of experience. The future, through hope, must translate itself into the drive of highest purpose. The present, through work, must translate itself

into intelligent, purposeful devotion toward providing those conditions for the growth of good, of God, in the realities of everyday living of the life of to-day. The future will be made out of what we make of ourselves and our situations.

What are some of the areas of life where intelligent, purposeful devotion is urgently needed if the conditions for the growth of a future of good—of a kingdom of God—are to be established and set into effective functioning? As you meditate upon these, one by one, write down for each your significant reflections under these guiding thoughts:

High purposes to be achieved.

Intelligent planning.

Important calls to action in my own life situation.

You may work out some such purposes as these:

1. Building a Christian philosophy of life that will be reasonably adequate in the present, and grow nobler with use.

2. Meeting the pressures from the social groups with whom I am associated without





# The EPWORTH HERALD

A JOURNAL  
FOR YOUTH



January 23, 1932

W. E. J. GRATZ, Editor

T. OTTO NALL, Associate

Vol. XLIII, No. 4

## The Patriotism of Jesus

*No greater patriot has ever lived. Do we have the love, the faith, the courage, the endurance to accept all that is involved in his patriotism?*

**W**AS Jesus a patriot? In the narrow nationalistic and militaristic sense, obviously he was not. But what is real patriotism? Is it not to be defined as love of one's countrymen and devotion to the highest ideals of one's nation? If so, Jesus was the preëminent patriot of his day. No man ever gave such unmistakable evidence of love for his people and no Jew ever rendered such complete devotion to the highest ideals of the prophets as did Jesus.

He came that the people might have life and have it to the full. To this end he went about doing good—feeding the hungry, healing the sick, comforting the sorrowing, lifting up the fallen, strengthening the weak; forgiving the sinful, leading to the Father all who would follow; loving, serving, suffering to the end. On the cross of pain and shame he cried aloud: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." Not only so, he was completely devoted to the highest ideals of his nation. Did not the prophets rise to the noble conception of Judea as the mediator of justice and righteousness between the nations? Was not the highest conception of the Messiah that of a suffering servant? Did any zealot love his countrymen as much as did Jesus, or serve them as well? Who manifested the truer patriotism, Jesus or Barabbas?

In the light of the incontrovertible evidence concerning the actual choices made by Jesus, what attitude toward patriotism should be maintained by his followers today? Can we not all agree upon the following:

**F**IRST, followers of Jesus are supremely obligated to love their countrymen and to be devoted to the highest ideals of their nation. Patriotism for real Christians is not a matter of lip service but a question of genuine affection for one's people, and whole-hearted allegiance to the noblest ideals of one's nation. Too frequently the ideals and symbols of patriotism have been prostituted to unholy ends.

Are not the sacred phrases of patriotism bandied about by corrupt politicians and archmilitarists? Is not the flag often used to drape the barroom of some den of vice or to decorate the show window of some profiteer? Shall the true followers of Jesus permit these blatant, self-styled patrioteers, actual enemies of their country, to appropriate the ideals and symbols of patriotism? Surely one of the main tasks before us is to put content into the word "patriotism" and help our fellow citizens to understand that it connotes love of people and dedication to ideals. Moreover, it should be emphasized that love of country does not involve hatred of other people. The truest patriotism incorporates within itself the ideal: "Above all nations is humanity."

By KIRBY PAGE

**S**ECOND, the followers of Jesus should realize that the highest service to the citizens and the ideals of their nation can be rendered only by adhering to Jesus' way of life. The truest patriot is the one who most completely incarnates the attitudes and practices of Jesus. There is, therefore, no occasion when a Christian patriot is justified in giving way to hatred to other peoples or to the desire for revenge. Jesus said, "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that spitefully use you." Since the effective way to overcome evil is by doing good, a Christian patriot should never retaliate with evil for evil, or seek to cast out Satan by using Satan's weapons.

In view of the tragic evidence now available which reveals the futility and suicidal nature of modern war, as well as its utterly

un-Christian character, is it not clear that we, like Jesus, should refuse ever to take up the weapons of war? If we are to overcome national evildoers by non-violent measures, we must create and strengthen international agencies of justice as channels through which good will may find expression.

**T**HIRD, the patriot who believes that he can serve his country most effectively by using the weapons of Jesus must be prepared to take the consequences of that manner of life. To resist the enemies of one's country with the weapons of war, frequently means the loss of a limb or an eye or even life itself. It is expected of a soldier that he will endure any discomfort or suffering which is necessary in order to win the victory. And so it must be with the Christian who would overcome evil by doing good. To overcome the armed enemies of one's country by depending upon the method of Jesus requires even greater courage, fortitude and endurance than is demanded of a soldier. Jesus recognized this fact and gave full warning to his disciples: "Behold, I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves. . . . Yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service to God. . . . Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit. . . . If any man would come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

The most extreme penalty that the Christian patriot may be called upon to endure is the temporary loss of political freedom rather than use the weapons of hatred and bloodshed. From the whole spirit and example of Jesus, clearly is it far more important that his followers should always live as good members of the Father's family, ever maintaining the attitude of love and forgiveness, than that they should preserve political freedom by violating the family spirit. Real freedom is deliverance from attitudes and practices which violate Jesus' way of life. "If, therefore, the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

Countless millions of Christians have been praying, "Thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth," for nineteen centuries. Every time we pray thus we are asking for fundamental and radical changes in the present social order. Before the ideal society can be achieved drastic changes must be made in the *status quo*.

To follow Jesus obligates one to love his countrymen and to seek after the highest ideals of his nation. But to serve as Jesus did may involve humiliation, suffering or death. The real question before us, therefore, is this: Do we have the love, the faith, the courage, the endurance to accept all that is involved in the patriotism of Jesus?

### IN THIS DISARMAMENT "EPWORTH HERALD"

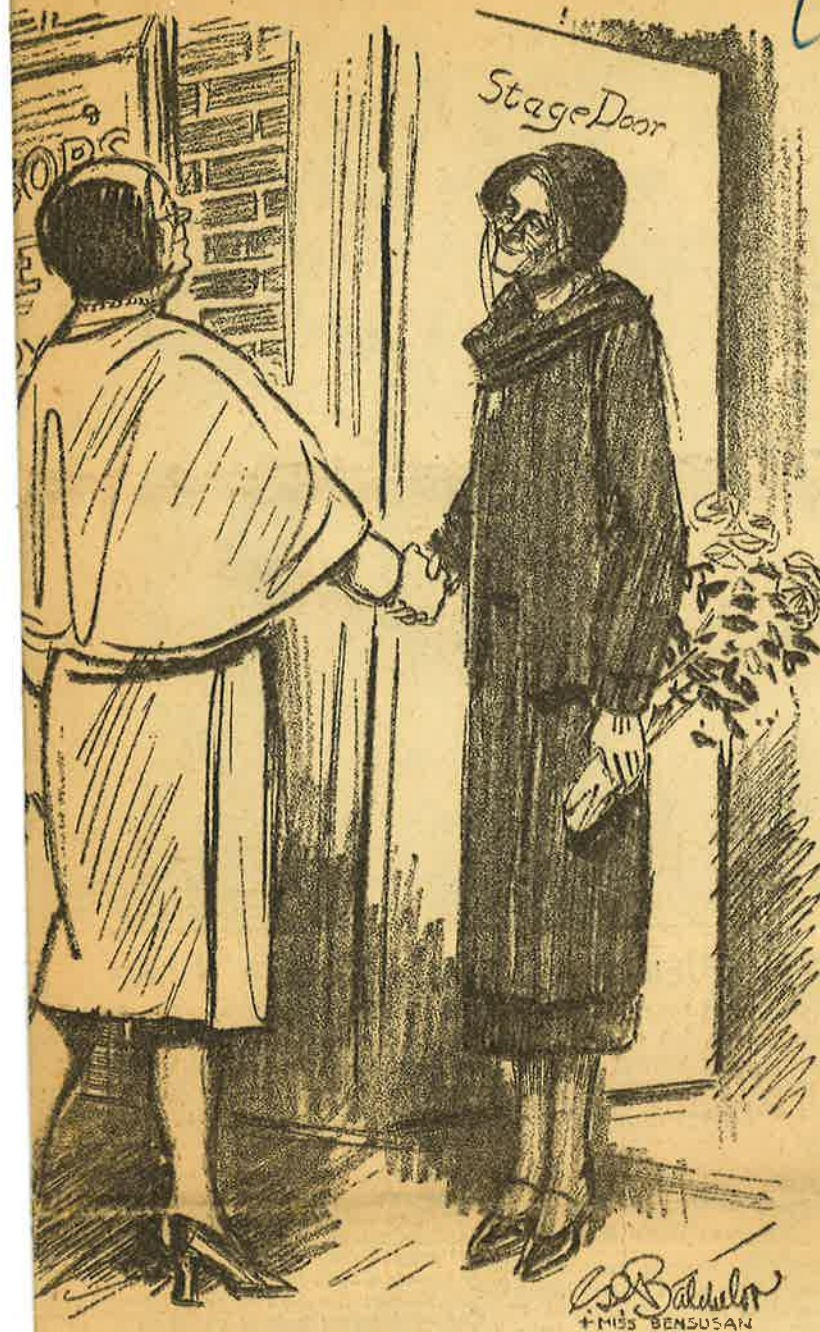
(Dedicated to those who gave their all in  
a war to end war)

	Page
The Patriotism of Jesus.....	3
By Kirby Page	
Is Your High School Under Arms?..	4
By Tucker P. Smith	
Youth Looks Toward Geneva.....	5
By Walter W. Van Kirk	
Princes of the Farmland.....	6
By James Sterling Ayars	
Youth and Disarmament.....	7
By Alvin C. Goddard	
Youth and World Christianity.....	7
By Luther Tucker	
Needed: a Sense of Humor.....	8
By Ernest Fremont Tittle	
Winter's Noon.....	8
By Evelyn M. Watson	
Some Things Are Simply Silly.....	9
By John R. Scotford	
Soldiers of Peace.....	9
By Thomas Curtis Clark	
Tropic Storm.....	10
By Elizabeth K. Van Deusen	
Mental Mustard.....	10
By Roy L. Smith	
Recreation and Culture.....	11
The Editor's Window.....	12
The Declaration of an American Citizen.....	13
The Senior League Meeting.....	14
By John Irwin	
The Comradeship Hour.....	14
Pioneer Trails in Christian Living..	16
By Frances Nall	
The Junior League Program.....	17
The Herald of Youth.....	19
Typist Taffy.....	22



By C. D. Batchelor

Registered U. S. Patent Office



underful. It was all I could do to keep from laughing."

## COMMENT

have looked unpromising. An interested person can work wonders in bringing beauty to a city yard however small. Lovely flowers, unlike Topsy, don't "just grow."—Charleston News and Courier.

KENTUCKY BISHOP  
HEEDS PLEA TO STAY

Providence, May 20 (AP)—Bishop James Dewolf Perry, presiding bishop

Right Reverend H. P. Almon Abbott, bishop of Lexington, Ky., has withdrawn his resignation.

This action, according to Bishop Perry, results from correspondence he has had with Bishop Abbott and many officials of the Lexington diocese, and from the conviction that "the best interest of the church would be served by the continuance of Bishop Abbott in his jurisdiction."

Bishop Abbott resigned after Rev. Julius A. Velasco, Dayton, Ky., was acquitted in an ecclesiastical trial on charges brought against him after his marriage to a Roman Catholic girl.

## AN INDIAN SAINT

Mahatma Gandhi Revered by His People as No Other Man Has Been Since Days of Buddha—Has Been Fighting for Them for 40 Years

By KIRBY PAGE.

His Emaciated body was stripped to the waist. Steadily he went on spinning. Now and then he smiled as we talked. Sitting there on the floor, it was difficult to realize that I was in the presence of the man most feared by the British government.

For three days I lived in his home and later saw him in action at a great political convention. Everywhere I found that he was revered as no other man in India has been since the days of Buddha.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is half ascetic and half militant crusader. His personal habits are subjected to the most rigorous discipline. He eats nothing but fruit and nuts. Water and goat's milk are his only beverages. He arises every morning at 4 and spends the first half hour in prayer. At twilight he and his friends sit in the sand overlooking the river and engage in corporate worship. At intervals he fasts; once he went 21 days without food.

## Fighting 40 Years.

For nearly 40 years he has been fighting the battles of the poor and the oppressed. Half of this period was spent in South Africa, where his fellow Indians were victims of discrimination and exploitation. The British and the Boer planters had brought over large numbers of Indians as indentured servants. The terms of their contracts reduced these Indian laborers to a condition of semi-slavery. When they became free competitors, they were harassed and victimized in countless ways.

Mr. Gandhi had first gone to South Africa on private legal business. At one period his earnings from the practice of law reached \$15,000 per year. So shocked was he by the injustices inflicted upon his people, that he spent 20 years struggling on their behalf. Under the influence of his own Hindu scriptures, the New Testament and the writings of Tolstol, he became an advocate of passive resistance, or more accurately, non-violent resistance to evil. He sought to overcome injustice without hatred or force. He pleaded with his countrymen not to harbor enmity against their oppressors; and at the same time urged them to disobey discriminatory and unjust laws. Instead of retaliating with evil for evil, he pleaded that they cheerfully accept the consequences of refusing to submit to injustice.

## Leader Is Persecuted.

So magnetic was his leadership that he was able to persuade his fellow countrymen to make extreme sacrifices in the long campaign which followed. Eventually 10,000 Indians went to jail

as a last resort it was planned to refuse payment of taxes.

All this was to be done without hatred or violence. Non co-operators were urged patiently to endure any penalty for disobedience rather than to submit longer to alien rule. Here was something new in the technique of revolution. Most self-governing nations get independence by armed revolution. Gandhi and his followers sought to obtain freedom without using the weapons of warfare.

The response to Gandhi's appeal was unparalleled in human history. Thirty thousand men and women cheerfully went to jail. Non co-operation was practiced on an extensive scale. At the height of the campaign Gandhi received homage and adoration such as has been accorded to no other man in many generations. He was greeted by vast crowds wherever he went and on every hand was acclaimed as "Mahatma," Great Soul or Saint.

## Violence Breaks Out.

For a moment it appeared that the non co-operation movement would sweep all before it. A prominent British official later confessed that "it came within an inch of succeeding." Just as a campaign of non-payment of taxes was about to be launched in limited areas, violence broke out. Certain Indians failed to observe Gandhi's warning against the use of force and committed outrages against British citizens and their property. When it became apparent that the spirit of violence was spreading, Gandhi shocked many of his supporters by calling off the whole non co-operation movement. He had repeatedly said that the campaign would be defeated unless it was conducted in a peaceful manner.

Shortly thereafter Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in prison. After two years he was released by the Labor government. Within a few weeks, severe rioting broke out between Hindus and Moslems. For years Gandhi had devoted himself to the task of reconciling these hostile religious factions and now felt obliged to do personal penance for the sins of his people. He determined upon a 21 day fast, in spite of the fact that at best his health is frail and that he was just convalescing from an operation for appendicitis. His friends warned him that he could never survive the ordeal. Yet for three long weeks his famished body was denied food and his spirit triumphed over his flesh.

## Demands Increase.

For several years the mahatma retired from active politics and devoted himself to social reform. At the end of 1929, however, he assumed the lead-



ne and I  
d my ex-  
onditions,  
r feet as  
the two  
ach other  
icer than  
l way to  
aired dog  
oll in the  
un up to  
ad, unless  
butter.  
  
into the  
you face  
et around  
ther it is  
s into the  
p into it,  
o my own  
think and  
round by  
d packing  
obs. The  
you have  
t, by eat-  
And for  
f an out-  
  
Common-  
e publicly  
oderately  
apropos of  
e twenty-  
by going  
Whether  
hat rulers  
ble by oc-  
e like. In  
r here the  
ill at the  
although  
onious ap-  
d barmaid  
agine the  
e-Volstead  
r with the  
to a night  
saloon, or  
devotees,  
harm in  
ent would  
  
p y  
n.  
s of Wash-  
exercising to  
up for dis-  
  
ADES.

show it to be a decidedly uneven terrain. Hence the expression "mountains out of mole hills." The careless shaver who does not take the precaution to employ a microscope or magnifying glass thus unwittingly gets into a mountainous region without knowing it, and continues in high when he should go into second, with, of course, disastrous results. He draws blood.

Fortunately, nature has its remedy for stopping the flow of blood by means of the clot. But, though the clot is effective, it usually is inartistic. It has no reserve. It likes to make itself apparent. The problem of the shaver, therefore, is, so to speak, to domesticate the clot, to transform it from something primitive and exotic to something delicate and almost imperceptible. The problem is increased by the presence of the time element, as the person who cuts himself with a safety razor is invariably in a hurry to get somewhere and already is late.

For a while the shaver may deceive himself as to the seriousness of his wound by wiping it clean with a damp rag, but this merely results in a lot of lost motion. Instead he should whistle the whole of a favorite bathroom melody or count to 100, which will give nature's concrete time to set. After that he may proceed to chip off the rough edges, being careful, however, to distinguish between the essential and the unessential. If the cut is reopened, he will know that he has blundered into the essential. A dusting of powder may assist to cover up the carnage.

A successful repair man is one who, having drawn blood, can deceive his friends so effectively that when they see him they will not ask the somewhat superfluous question: "Have you cut yourself?"—Baltimore Evening Sun.

**Floral Beauty in the Little Yard.**

"In one certain little side yard in Savannah flowers appear literally to love to grow and bloom," says The Savannah Morning News. "They are blooming today in this little side yard." There are 31 kinds of flowers, including 10 varieties of roses, three kinds of oleanders and four colors of verbena. "Is there excuse for not having beautiful home surroundings in Savannah?" asks the Morning News.

The Morning News picture is pleasing. Somebody has been lavishing affection on flowering plants and this is the reason they "appear literally to love to grow and bloom." Somebody is as solicitous of each of these plants as a nurse is of her patient. Weeds have little opportunity to throttle their betters in such a yard.

In "one certain little yard" in Charleston one counted yesterday 21 kinds of roses and 21 other sorts of plants in bloom. Some of the roses, notably a silver moon and a Van Fleet, are of luxuriant growth; others are just getting a fair start, and the rest are in between. In this plot of less than 900 square feet, besides the bush and climbing roses are oleander, verbena, lilies, daisies, nasturtium, larkspur, bleeding heart, double pale blue violets, hydrangea, spirea. Several roses have finished their blooming and several are about to bloom.

This is just "one certain little yard" in Charleston; there are others: there ought to be more. One almost forgot to say that a Japanese plum is furnishing its fruit in the midst of pretty flowers and greens, and that fig trees nearby are getting ready for the season. These results are achieved in a comparatively little space. They show what can be done in small yards which

# Laugh This Off

with Neal R. O'Hara

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO TODAY.  
(Compiled from newspaper files.)

Preacher claims United States will have prohibition within the next decade. Saloon Keepers' Association says it won't happen in a thousand years.

Hotel for rich idlers opened at Palm Beach. No rooms for less than \$2.50 a day.

Czar of Russia pays \$145,000,000 for a diamond and ruby ash tray. Connoisseurs say the bauble isn't worth a nickel more than \$87,000,000 and that the Czar got stuck.

George M. Cohan quits the stage for good.



Clergy decries latest feminine fashion which shortens the skirt to just above the ankle. Predict that calves will some day be exposed if this tendency continues.

Press agent swears that \$1,250 was squandered on a new superfilm to be released in the fall of 1905.

Plans announced for New York's Flatiron building. Experts say people will refuse to go higher than six stories above the ground.

Man who invented the flexible buggy whip retires with a fortune of \$2,000,000.

Laura Jean Libbey's racy sex novels barred from the leading public libraries.

John D. Rockefeller slips a constable a bright new penny and urges him to be thrifty.

New York auto show a great success. Among the daring innovations to win favor with the public are a rubber bulb horn, brass trimmed kerosene lanterns and a rear entrance to back seats.

Rookie senator from Idaho named William E. Borah clashes with President Roosevelt's policies.

Distillers raise price of best rye to \$1.25 a quart.

Boston robbers hold up chain cigar store within two miles of police headquarters. Police commissioner announces hold-ups will cease within 24 hours.

Pittsburgh Pirates buy rookie named Honus Wagner for \$250. Recruit looks awkward in early season games and the Pirates have probably been stung.

DeWolf Hopper takes second wife and announces it is his last.

Citizens chafe at high prices resulting from Spanish-American war. Radicals point with alarm to steak at 12 cents a pound and flour \$2.75 a barrel.

Slang phrase, "Twenty-three, skiddoo," sweeps the country, succeeding "Go 'way back and sit down."

Skin tights in Broadway burlesque show. Seventeen preachers in Sunday sermons ask whither we are drifting?

Hemingway Gibbs, accused of manslaughter in the first degree, will rely on unique defense that he didn't know the gun was loaded.

Author and composer of Just Because She Made Those Goo-Goo Eyes split fortune of \$860 in royalties.

Buggy traffic in metropolitan cities congested. Construction of two-story stables suggested as only relief for the problem.

Harry K. Thaw, young Pittsburgh profligate, staggers Broadway with \$2 tip to a head waiter.

Telephone company promises citizens' committee that service will be improved.

General counsel of the Anti-Slavery League denied that Emancipation Proclamation was put over while the boys were fighting the Civil war.

Smith Brothers, in an interview, claim the cough drop business is only in its infancy.

Statistics show there is one automobile to every 374,000 inhabitants. Economists say saturation point has been reached.

ed in countless ways. But he kept himself entirely free from bitterness and hatred. In the end the government yielded and abolished many of the discriminatory laws against which the Indians had struggled. The victory was a notable triumph of soul-force over brute-force.

For many years Gandhi was an ardent admirer of the British constitution and his loyalty was manifested by supporting the British government in three wars. He served as a stretcher bearer in the Boer war and in the Zulu rebellion. During the World war, to the consternation of many friends, he engaged in recruiting for the British army. Yet within a few months after the armistice, he was transformed into a relentless opponent of British rule in India.

## Attitude Is Changed.

Three events were primarily responsible for this change in attitude: the Rowlett bill, the Amritsar massacre and the Khelists betrayal. The first was a sedition measure which abolished trial by jury under certain circumstances and placed inquisitorial powers in the hands of public officials. To Indian leaders this law seemed a denial of the wartime promises made by Great Britain to give India a greater degree of self-government. Following riots in several cities, a proclamation was issued in Amritsar forbidding public assemblies. When a vast crowd of some 10,000 Indians in defiance of this order gathered in an enclosed square, General Dyer opened fire upon the unarmed and defenseless mob. After 10 minutes of fusillade some 400 or 500 persons were killed and 1,200 wounded. The avowed purpose of General Dyer was "to strike terror into the whole of the Punjab."

The 70,000,000 Moslems of India were embittered by the way the allies broke their promises to the sultan of Turkey, who was also the kaliph or supreme ruler of Moslems all over the world. Then, too, nationalism had been becoming more dynamic year by year and the desire for freedom had been steadily growing stronger. Indian students had been nurtured on Anglo-Saxon ideals of liberty and began to clamor for their inheritance. Resentment against the irritating assumption of superiority by the British was becoming keener. In countless ways Indians were humiliated and insulted. The conviction that India was being exploited economically by Great Britain was growing more intense.

## Resistance Planned.

For these and other reasons, Gandhi felt that the time had come for India to demand self-government. At that moment he would have been satisfied if India had been granted full dominion status inside the British commonwealth, like Canada or Australia. The method of achieving this end was to be non-violent non-co-operation. The government was to be paralyzed by refusing to co-operate with it. Members of legislatures were to resign, lawyers were to refrain from practicing in the courts, government schools were to be boycotted by teachers and pupils, foreign goods were to be boycotted, and

complete independence as its immediate objective. The mahatma and his colleagues are convinced that the British government has no intention of granting full self-government to India unless compelled to do so by the Indians themselves.

Indian Nationalists look upon foreign domination as emasculating and intolerable. They contend that the question as to whether or not India is fit for self-government is irrelevant and point out that liberty is an inalienable right of a people. They admit that during the period of reconstruction corruption, inefficiency and factional strife may become worse. But they are willing to run any risk and endure any suffering in order to gain independence.

## New Campaign Opens.

Instead of relying upon armaments, they have launched another campaign of non-violent non co-operation. Once more an attempt is being made to paralyze the alien government which rules them. Their love of liberty is as passionate as that of Patrick Henry and George Washington but they have chosen different weapons with which to wage their struggle for freedom.

The world is now confronted with the amazing spectacle of an emaciated and unarmed saint bidding defiance to the British empire!

## CITY AT STANDSTILL AS OFFICIALS ARRESTED

Cheyenne, Wyo., May 20 (AP)—Fourteen city officials of Rock Springs and nine Thermopolis municipal officers today faced charges of entering into a conspiracy with alleged bootleggers and speakeasy proprietors whereby the latter made monthly protection payments to enrich the municipal treasuries.

The federal grand jury here last Saturday returned indictments against 93 residents of the two Wyoming cities, including their mayors. The alleged specific acts of conspiracy to violate the national prohibition laws were made known Monday by A. D. Wilson, United States district attorney, who released a 26-page indictment against 52 Rock Springs citizens and a 20-page indictment against the 42 Thermopolis residents.

At Rock Springs the municipal government was at a standstill until a temporary government was formed. Mayor P. C. Bunning appointed a temporary mayor, and William Harvey, the only policeman not indicted, was appointed temporary chief of police. Those indicted must appear in Cheyenne for arraignment.

## First Airport Strike.

Madison, Wis., May 20 (AP)—What is believed here to be the first airport strike in United States went into effect here Monday as Robert M. Thompson, chief pilot, and Merle Buck, chief instructor of the Midwest Transport company, quit work because of charges that the company failed to provide compensation insurance. The men said they would return to work when the company agreed to procure insurance for them.

Two French firms make powdered silk from silk and rayon waste. It is as fluffy as velvet and used for fine tapestry wall paper and other fancy decorative effects.



of previous picnics came back to me and I se heart. A beach means sand, and my ex- s been that while under ordinary conditions, ill stay where it belongs, under your feet as he moment you uncover any food, the two and sand, develop an affinity for each other in the scrambled eggs isn't any nicer than e clams of a clambake. The ideal way to n the beach is to take along a long-haired dog , rollicking kind of a dog—who will roll in the ure joy, and for the same reason run up to meal is spread and shake himself and, unless acle among dogs, will step in the butter.

se, you can escape sand by going into the ere, however, being a careful person, you face of starting a fire, and even if you get around ty, there are the caterpillars. Whether it is on the beach, where the sand gets into the the woods where the caterpillars drop into it, n I have never been able to settle to my own Either will give you something to think and The problem of the fire can be got round by ooking at home before you start and packing hot drink in vacuum thingumabobs. The e caterpillars can be avoided, after you have ooking at home where it is convenient, by eat- e where you have a proper table. And for or effect you might read a copy of an out- ine while eating.

nusing to consider," remarks the Common- an outcry there would be if it were publicly that President Hoover had even moderately rse in the Kentucky Derby." This, apropos of t King George recently celebrated the twenty- rsary of his ascending the throne by going s and betting a pound on a horse. Whether lost is not stated. The point is that rulers t in the eyes of the common people by oc- oining the things the common people like. In e king places a bet on a horse; over here the oes fishing or throws out the ball at the e baseball season. The king might, although w that he ever did, make a ceremonious ap- a pub and allow the rosy-cheeked barmaid m a mug of ale. But can you imagine the f the United States, even in the pre-Volstead ing in a saloon for a shell of lager with the etting on a horse race? Or going to a night can't. Even the frequenters of the saloon, or rack habitués, or the night club devotees, n would insist that there was no harm in did, would agree that the President would y joining them.

## Port and Snappy

### aining for Oratorical Marathon.

tors you see trotting about the streets of Wash- nning shorts, these mornings, are exercising to ir wind. The London treaty comes up for dis- .—New York Herald-Tribune.

## Wedlock

Why it is in the dance,  
Though lovely dancer she,  
My wife, when she doth follow,  
Is ever pushing me?

Yet when it comes to life,  
It's clear as clear can be,  
I want a wife to follow,  
Who ever's pushing me.

—JOHN HARSEN RHOADES.

show it to be a decidedly uneven ter- rain. Hence the expression "mountains out of mole hills." The careless shaver who does not take the precaution to employ a microscope or magnifying glass thus unwittingly gets into a moun- tainous region without knowing it, and continues in high when he should go into second, with, of course, disastrous results. He draws blood.

Fortunately, nature has its remedy for stopping the flow of blood by means of the clot. But, though the clot is effective, it usually is inartistic. It has no reserve. It likes to make itself apparent. The problem of the shaver, therefore, is, so to speak, to domesticate the clot, to transform it from some- thing primitive and exotic to some- thing delicate and almost imperceptible. The problem is increased by the pres- ence of the time element, as the per- son who cuts himself with a safety razor is invariably in a hurry to get somewhere and already is late.

For a while the shaver may deceive himself as to the seriousness of his wound by wiping it clean with a damp rag, but this merely results in a lot of lost motion. Instead he should whistle the whole of a favorite bath- room melody or count to 100, which will give nature's concrete time to set. Af- ter that he may proceed to chip off the rough edges, being careful, however, to distinguish between the essential and the unessential. If the cut is reopened, he will know that he has blundered into the essential. A dusting of powder may assist to cover up the carnage.

A successful repair man is one who, having drawn blood, can deceive his friends so effectively that when they see him they will not ask the some- what superfluous question: "Have you cut yourself?"—Baltimore Evening Sun.

### Floral Beauty in the Little Yard.

"In one certain little side yard in Savannah flowers appear literally to love to grow and bloom," says The Savannah Morning News. "They are blooming today in this little side yard." There are 31 kinds of flowers, includ- ing 10 varieties of roses, three kinds of oleanders and four colors of verbena. "Is there excuse for not having beau- tiful home surroundings in Savannah?" asks the Morning News.

The Morning News picture is pleas- ing. Somebody has been lavishing af- fection on flowering plants and this is the reason they "appear literally to love to grow and bloom." Somebody is as solicitous of each of these plants as a nurse is of her patient. Weeds have little opportunity to throttle their bet- ters in such a yard.

In "one certain little yard" in Charleston one counted yesterday 21 kinds of roses and 21 other sorts of plants in bloom. Some of the roses, notably a silver moon and a Van Fleet, are of luxuriant growth; others are just getting a fair start, and the rest are in between. In this plot of less than 900 square feet, besides the bush and climbing roses are oleander, ver- bena, lilies, daisies, nasturtium, lark- spur, bleeding heart, double pale blue violets, hydrangea, spirea. Several roses have finished their blooming and sev- eral are about to bloom.

This is just "one certain little yard" in Charleston; there are others: there ought to be more. One almost forgot to say that a Japanese plum is furnish- ing its fruit in the midst of pretty flowers and greens, and that fig trees nearby are getting ready for the season. These results are achieved in a com- paratively little space. They show what can be done in small yards which

# Laugh This Off

with Neal R. O'Hara

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO TODAY.  
(Compiled from newspaper files.)

Preacher claims United States will have prohibition within the next decade. Saloon Keepers' Association says it won't happen in a thou- sand years.

Hotel for rich idlers opened at Palm Beach. No rooms for less than \$2.50 a day.

Czar of Russia pays \$145,000,000 for a diamond and ruby ash tray. Connoisseurs say the bauble isn't worth a nickel more than \$67,000,000 and that the Czar got stuck.

George M. Cohan quits the stage for good.



Clergy decries latest feminine fashion which shortens the skirt to just above the ankle. Predict that calves will some day be exposed if this tendency continues.

Press agent swears that \$1,250 was squandered on a new superfilm to be released in the fall of 1905.

Plans announced for New York's Flatiron building. Experts say people will refuse to go higher than six stories above the ground.

Man who invented the flexible buggy whip retires with a fortune of \$2,000,000.

Laura Jean Libbey's racy sex novels barred from the leading public libraries.

John D. Rockefeller slips a constable a bright new penny and urges him to be thrifty.

New York auto show a great success. Among the daring innovations to win favor with the public are a rubber bulb horn, brass trimmed kerosene lanterns and a rear entrance to back seats.

Rookie senator from Idaho named William E. Borah clashes with President Roosevelt's policies.

Distillers raise price of best rye to \$1.25 a quart.

Boston robbers hold up chain cigar store within two miles of police headquarters. Police commissioner announces hold-ups will cease within 24 hours.

Pittsburgh Pirates buy rookie named Honus Wagner for \$250. Recruit looks awkward in early season games and the Pirates have probably been stung.

DeWolf Hopper takes second wife and announces it is his last.

Citizens chafe at high prices resulting from Spanish-American war. Radicals point with alarm to steak at 12 cents a pound and flour \$2.75 a barrel.

Slang phrase, "Twenty-three, skiddoo," sweeps the country, succeed- ing "Go 'way back and sit down."

Skin tights in Broadway burlesque show. Seventeen preachers in Sunday sermons ask whither we are drifting?

Hemingway Gibbs, accused of manslaughter in the first degree, will rely on unique defense that he didn't know the gun was loaded.

Author and composer of Just Because She Made Those Goo-Goo Eyes split fortune of \$860 in royalties.

Buggy traffic in metropolitan cities congested. Construction of two-story stables suggested as only relief for the problem.

Harry K. Thaw, young Pittsburgh profligate, staggers Broadway with \$2 tip to a head waiter.

Telephone company promises citizens' committee that service will be improved.

General counsel of the Anti-Slavery League denied that Emancipa- tion Proclamation was put over while the boys were fighting the Civil war.

Smith Brothers, in an interview, claim the cough drop business is only in its infancy.

Statistics show there is one automobile to every 374,000 inhabitants. Economists say saturation point has been reached.

ed in countless ways. But he kept him- self entirely free from bitterness and hatred. In the end the government yielded and abolished many of the dis- criminatory laws against which the In- dians had struggled. The victory was a notable triumph of soul-force over brute-force.

For many years Gandhi was an ar- dent admirer of the British constitu- tion and his loyalty was manifested by supporting the British government in three wars. He served as a stretcher bearer in the Boer war and in the Zulu rebellion. During the World war, to the consternation of many friends, he en- gaged in recruiting for the British army. Yet within a few months after the armistice, he was transformed into a relentless opponent of British rule in India.

### Attitude Is Changed.

Three events were primarily respon- sible for this change in attitude: the Rowlett bill, the Amritsar massacre and the Kheliff betrayal. The first was a sedition measure which abolished trial by jury under certain circumstances and placed inquisitorial powers in the hands of public officials. To Indian leaders this law seemed a denial of the wartime promises made by Great Britain to give India a greater degree of self-government. Following riots in several cities, a proclamation was is- sued in Amritsar forbidding public as- semblies. When a vast crowd of some 10,000 Indians in defiance of this or- der gathered in an enclosed square, General Dyer opened fire upon the un- armed and defenseless mob. After 10 minutes of fusillade some 400 or 500 persons were killed and 1,200 wounded. The avowed purpose of General Dyer was "to strike terror into the whole of the Punjab."

The 70,000,000 Moslems of India were embittered by the way the allies broke their promises to the sultan of Turkey, who was also the kaliph or supreme rul- er of Moslems all over the world. Then, too, nationalism had been becoming more dynamic year by year and the de- sire for freedom had been steadily growing stronger. Indian students had been nurtured on Anglo-Saxon ideals of liberty and began to clamor for their inheritance. Resentment against the irritating assumption of superiority by the British was becoming keener. In countless ways Indians were humiliated and insulted. The conviction that In- dia was being exploited economically by Great Britain was growing more intense.

### Resistance Planned.

For these and other reasons, Gandhi felt that the time had come for India to demand self-government. At that moment he would have been satisfied if India had been granted full dominion status inside the British commonwealth, like Canada or Australia. The method of achieving this end was to be non- violent non-co-operation. The govern- ment was to be paralyzed by refusing to co-operate with it. Members of leg- islatives were to resign, lawyers were to refrain from practicing in the courts, government schools were to be boycotted by teachers and pupils, for- eign goods were to be boycotted, and

complete independence was its imme- diate objective. The mahatma and his colleagues are convinced that the Brit- ish government has no intention of granting full self-government to India unless compelled to do so by the In- dians themselves.

Indian Nationalists look upon foreign domination as emasculating and intol- erable. They contend that the question as to whether or not India is fit for self-government is irrelevant and point out that liberty is an inalienable right of a people. They admit that during the period of reconstruction corruption, in- efficiency and factional strife may be- come worse. But they are willing to run any risk and endure any suffering in order to gain independence.

### New Campaign Opens.

Instead of relying upon armaments, they have launched another campaign of non-violent non co-operation. Once more an attempt is being made to para- lyze the alien government which rules them. Their love of liberty is as pas- sionate as that of Patrick Henry and George Washington but they have cho- sen different weapons with which to wage their struggle for freedom.

The world is now confronted with the amazing spectacle of an emaciated and unarmed saint bidding defiance to the British empire!

## CITY AT STANDSTILL AS OFFICIALS ARRESTED

Cheyenne, Wyo., May 20 (AP)—Four- teen city officials of Rock Springs and nine Thermopolis municipal officers to- day faced charges of entering into a conspiracy with alleged bootleggers and speakeasy proprietors whereby the lat- ter made monthly protection payments to enrich the municipal treasuries.

The federal grand jury here last Sat- urday returned indictments against 93 residents of the two Wyoming cities, including their mayors. The alleged specific acts of conspiracy to violate the national prohibition laws were made known Monday by A. D. Wilson, United States district attorney, who released a 26-page indictment against 52 Rock Springs citizens and a 20-page indict- ment against the 42 Thermopolis resi- dents.

At Rock Springs the municipal gov- ernment was at a standstill until a temporary government was formed. Mayor P. C. Bunning appointed a tem- porary mayor, and William Harvey, the only policeman not indicted, was ap- pointed temporary chief of police. Those indicted must appear in Chey- enne for arraignment.

### First Airport Strike.

Madison, Wis., May 20 (AP)—What is believed here to be the first airport strike in United States went into effect here Monday as Robert M. Thomp- son, chief pilot, and Merle Buck, chief instructor of the Midwest Transport company, quit work because of charges that the company failed to provide com- pensation insurance. The men said they would return to work when the company agreed to procure insurance for them.

Two French firms make powdered silk from silk and rayon waste. It is as fluffy as velvet and used for fine tap- istry wall paper and other fancy dec- orative effects.



think we weren't quite fair to the there is Winston Churchill, for telling the house of commons United States had outmaneuvered at the conference, gaining an ad-England would some day rue. If d States has got the best of the n such fashion as this, then the ust be good indeed.

omes our own Admiral Hilary P. dmiral Jones was for a time one merican naval advisers at the con-He tells a committee of the senate land outmaneuvered the United the conference, gaining an ad-which the United States will some It must be clear to the darkest t a treaty between the United l England in which each takes ad- of the other must be a miraculous-treaty all round.

mes this news about the Japanese o the conference who is hiding afraid to go home because the in Japan are saying that both and the United States outwitted the treaty negotiations, gaining s which Japan will one day rue. y knew from other admirals that put it all over the English and . So now it is clear that the really something of a wonder, a miracle. With the militarists t against it because it is to the ge of all, what person of peace to adore it as to the advantage

### Merit and Mules

taken the war department 12 et around to giving Curtis Har-olumbus, O., veteran of the flict, the Distinguished Service extraordinary heroism," but the not suffer by the delay. On the t recalls, at a time when the dimming the doughty deeds of boys, the unusual but not uncom-age which they manifested on sions.

ison did not drag a wounded safety through the hell of no t, nor single-handed capture an man detachment. His feat was rner 'stuff—he made a stable of es keep on their gas masks 12-hour attack, spite of the fact s twice felled by the concussion nd wounded by shrapnel.

t alone the fact that Mr. Har-d his own life to save those of s which makes this incident re-Mules are traditionally stub-we doubt that even army

changed the nature of those in . Imagine getting one of the ear a gas mask for half a day, is by a stableful, add the ele-rror because of the bombard-ng with Mr. Harrison's own d you have an idea of the tre-ork which he successfully engi-the citation should include not aordinary heroism," but the a miracle among mules as well.

nce of Wales attended a golf other day carrying a red and ella, but we'd like to see him unt in a baseball bleachers.

Joyce complains because her t her orchids instead of lilacs, had sent lilies the chances are t have made a complaint.

Mexico they declared a holiday the census. In this country if the census on a holiday there anybody in the cities.

show that a good percentage of ccidents are caused by persons bathtubs. What this world ap with handles.

girl golf champion has no but if she deserted the amateur ne professional the chances are fford a husband.

s Hammond says our American has a kind face, which indicates Hammond also is an adept at e bull.

are being sent from the Ohio eformatory, probably in an ef-the reforming.

mer is a fellow who can re-nen drug stores had medicine

scatter them out of the room. I have invested more in fancy pajamas and house robes than in all other articles of wearing apparel combined. My head is shaped exactly like an egg and I wear a 7½ size hat. Purple is my favorite color. I know no grammatical rules.

This is heaps of fun. And imagine getting paid for it! Only one person has ever done me a downright scurrilous trick. I met my wife when she was four years old in a kindergarten. We went through public school together. And lived a block from each other. My first impression of her was beauty. And I have never lost that impression. My mother-in-law has lived with us 12 years. We have her with us wherever we go. My hair will not stay brushed 10 minutes. I choke myself wearing tight collars and secretly long to play an accordion like Phil Baker.

### PEOPLE'S COLUMN

An Open Forum to News Readers—To receive attention letters must be signed; not necessarily for publication, with the writer's full name and address.

### A READER OF EDITORIALS

To the Editor of The News:

The editor chortles gleefully, for just as he was about to cast himself into the lake, it occurred to him that from the amount of criticism in his mail, his editorials were certainly being read. Let me amend: And how!

I wonder if editors realize that there are readers who, lacking the opportunity for more than a grade school education, and having little time for reading, yet craving more knowledge than they possess, look upon the editorial page as a sort of school where the important questions of this remarkable era are discussed by the editor. They know he does not claim to be infallible and being human has his own opinions, and must always have the good of the paper he edits in mind, but they also realize he is in constant touch with the world's most interesting news and is therefore a very able teacher, especially when, as with the editor of The News, he tries always to appeal to the better side of human nature.

Sometimes criticisms are founded more on a love of debate than a desire to carp. Newspapers do not have debating columns, and so, many times, readers who are more or less shut-in, can find no means of hearing the other side of a question, except by criticising the editorials, thereby bringing forth the opinions of others through the letter column. It is done with no intent of putting the editor in the wrong, as he is considered too far removed to bother with the ideas of his readers, but many of the letters are interesting and show how many-sided human nature really is.

There are those who do not care for much spice and pass by the thrillers of the front page for the real meal to be found in the editorials and so the editor need never feel discouraged, for long after he has forgotten things he has written, they are still living in the minds of some of his readers; and if an editor's aim is always to construct, who knows how much of tolerance and understanding he may be building in some of those minds.

A. E. R.

744 Faulkner av., Dayton, May 19.

### PROHIBITION VIEWS

To the Editor of The News:

What ails your McBride-ish correspondents? Just when did Wilberforce, Booth, Wesley or poverty-beguiled St. Francis advocate Cannon tactics to free men from masters or sin?

I have voted dry every time for years, but I'm slipping, for some time now, and I haven't contributed a thing to the cause since the first dry victim was—I near said murdered—shot. And, I aren't gonna to.

If the Anti-Saloon League (present performance particularly) was born of God in a prayer-meeting, I'm sure happy I ain't been to one in several years.

The last prohibition party meeting that I attended was in the old U. B. building, and a fine old gentleman got up and said he thought the time had come to let everybody into the party who was favorable to the cause—used to be you had to be a Christian to think dry!

A brother deacon, one night, said to me, "There are times when force seems justified to gain the ends sought."

I ain't here telling you about some other fellow, it's me who heard these things.

CHARLES C. C. ESSLINGER.

Clinton, Mich., May 17.

### CHURCH AND STATE

To the Editor of The News:

The church in its purity represents the "Throne of God." God set the church over state for the preservation of his "kingdom." Church and state are inseparable. What God has united, let no man put asunder.

War is the wages of sinful government. The wages of sin is death. When we are loyal to state, in war, we are disloyal to God. We entered the world conflict, we were the last great power to reject God, and having no entanglements must be the first to return. The last shall be first, and the first shall be last—only through righteous government can we honor and glorify God. We departed from the path-way of righteousness individually and nationally and in like manner we must return, through the divine guidance of the church.

Politics without the divine principle means pollution and robbery. God reserves the right to govern his own creation, which is sacred, and any abuse adds to our lost and sinful conditions.

W. S. GUITNER.

New Weston, O., May 17.



## A Saint Bids Defiance to the British Empire

Gandhi has been fighting for the poor and the oppressed for almost forty years; went to South Africa on private legal business, but spent twenty years struggling for his people; victory won through many hardships; why he turned against British rule in India; non-cooperation movement "came within an inch of succeeding."

(By Kirby Page)

His emaciated body was stripped to the waist. Steadily he went on spinning. Now and then he smiled as we talked. Sitting there on the floor, it was difficult to realize that I was in the presence of the man most feared by the British government.

For three days I lived in his home and later saw him in action at a great political convention. Everywhere I found that he was revered as no other man in India has been since the days of Buddha.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi is half ascetic and half militant crusader. His personal habits are subjected to the most rigorous discipline. He eats nothing but fruit and nuts. Water and goat's milk are his only beverages. He arises every morning at 4 o'clock and spends the first half hour in prayer. At twilight he and his friends sit in the sand overlooking the river and engage in corporate worship. At intervals he fasts; once he went 21 days without food.

For nearly 40 years he has been fighting the battles of the poor and the oppressed. Half of this period was spent in South Africa, where his fellow Indians were victims of discrimination and exploitation. The British and the Boer planters had brought over large numbers of Indians as indentured servants. The terms of their contracts reduced these Indian laborers to a condition of semi-slavery. When they became free competitors, they were harassed and victimized in countless ways.

Mr. Gandhi had first gone to South Africa on private legal business. At one period his earnings from the practice of law reached \$15,000 per year. So shocked was he by the injustices inflicted upon his people, that he spent 20 years struggling on their behalf. Under the influence of his own Hindu scriptures, the New Testament and the writings of Tolstoy, he became an advocate of passive resistance, or more accurately, non-violent resistance to evil. He sought to overcome injustice without hatred or force. He pleaded with his countrymen not to harbor enmity against their oppressors; and at the same time urged them to disobey discriminatory and unjust laws. Instead of retaliating with evil for evil, he pleaded that they cheerfully accept the consequences of refusing to submit to injustice.

So magnetic was his leadership that he was able to persuade his fellow countrymen to make extreme sacrifices in the long campaign which followed. Eventually ten thousand Indians went to jail. Time after time Gandhi himself was imprisoned. He was stoned by mobs, refused admission to hotels and insulted in countless ways. But he kept himself entirely free from bitterness and hatred. In the end the government yielded and abolished many of the discriminatory laws against which the Indians had struggled. The victory was a notable triumph of soul-force over brute-force.

For many years Gandhi was an ardent admirer of the British constitution and his loyalty was manifested by supporting the British government in three wars. He served as a stretcher bearer in the Boer War and in the Zulu Rebellion. During the World War, to the consternation of many friends, he engaged in recruiting for the British army. Yet within a few months after the Armistice, he was transformed into a relentless opponent of British rule in India.

Three events were primarily responsible for this change in attitude: The Rowlett bill, the Amritsar massacre and the Kheliff betrayal. The first was a sedition measure which abolished

trial by jury under certain circumstances and placed inquisitorial powers in the hands of public officials. To Indian leaders this law seemed a denial of the wartime promises made by Great Britain to give India a greater degree of self-government. Following riots in several cities, a proclamation was issued in Amritsar forbidding public assemblies. When a vast crowd of some 10,000 Indians in defiance of this order gathered in an enclosed square, Gen. Dyer opened fire upon the unarmed and defenceless mob. After 10 minutes of fusillade some four or five hundred persons were killed and twelve hundred wounded. The avowed purpose of Gen. Dyer was "to strike terror into the whole of the Punjab."

For these and other reasons, Gandhi felt that the time had come for India to demand self-government. At that moment he would have been satisfied if India had been granted full dominion status inside the British commonwealth, like Canada or Australia. The method of achieving this end was to be non-violent non-cooperation. The government was to be paralyzed by refusing to cooperate with it. Members of legislatures were to resign, lawyers were to refrain from practicing in the courts, government schools were to be boycotted by teachers and pupils, foreign goods were to be boycotted, and as a last resort it was planned to refuse payment of taxes.

All this was to be done without hatred or violence. Non-cooperators were urged patiently to endure any penalty for disobedience rather than to submit longer to alien rule. Here was something new in the technique of revolution. Most self-governing nations secured independence by armed revolution. Gandhi and his followers sought to obtain freedom without using the weapons of warfare.

The response to Gandhi's appeal was unparalleled in human history. Thirty thousand men and women cheerfully went to jail. Non-cooperation was practiced on an extensive scale. At the height of the campaign Gandhi received homage and adoration such as has been accorded to no other man in many generations. He was greeted by vast crowds wherever he went and on every hand was acclaimed as "Mahatma," Great Soul or Saint.

For a moment it appeared that the non-cooperation movement would sweep all before it. A prominent British official later confessed that "it came within an inch of succeeding." Just as a campaign of non-payment of taxes was about to be launched in limited areas, violence broke out. Certain Indians failed to observe Gandhi's warning against the use of force and committed outrages against British citizens and their property. When it became apparent that the spirit of violence was spreading, Gandhi shocked many of his supporters by calling off the whole non-cooperation movement. He had repeatedly said that the campaign would be defeated unless it was conducted in a peaceful manner.

Shortly thereafter Gandhi was arrested and sentenced to six years in prison. After two years he was released by the labor government. Within a few weeks, severe rioting broke out between Hindus and Moslems. For years Gandhi had devoted himself to the task of reconciling these hostile religious factions and now felt obliged to do personal penance for the sins of his people. He determined upon a 21-day fast, in spite of the fact that at best his health is frail and that he was just convalescing from

an operation for appendicitis. His friends warned him that he could never survive the ordeal. Yet for three long weeks his famished body was denied food and his spirit triumphed over his flesh.

For several years the Mahatma retired from active politics and devoted himself to social reform. At the end of 1929, however, he assumed the leadership of the Indian national congress. That body, at its annual meeting in December at Lahore, voted to reject dominion status as its goal and to adopt complete independence as its immediate objective. The Mahatma and his colleagues are convinced that the British government has no intention of granting full self-government to India unless compelled to do so by the Indians themselves.

The world is now confronted with the amazing spectacle of an emaciated and unarmed saint bidding defiance to the British empire!

### CURRENT OPINION

#### CONDEMNED

(Samuel James in Judge)

The morning had arrived. Soon footsteps would sound and then the summons to the chair. He must not falter. There must be no sign of fear.

For days he had fought against thinking about it. Yet every morning he awoke, thankful that it was not the morning. And every night he dozed off, said that another day had gone.

But now the morning had arrived. Outside the sun was shining. He knew that. Men went about their work just as if it were any other morning. If any had heard of his ordeal, they had forgotten. A few loved ones remembered, but they were powerless to help him. And always the thought of that chair—but a few feet away.

He might have escaped, for a time at least. Yet in his heart he had known that sooner or later he must come to it. What a fool he had been to yield himself up so soon. What would he not have given for a week of respite now, or a day—or even an hour.

He must stop thinking about that chair. It was fast unnerving him. His heart was thumping painfully. He must get hold of himself. He must not seem a coward. His feet must not falter on that short walk. He must not hang back. Courage—that was all that was left.

Steps! Did he hear them? He listened intently. Yes, he heard them coming. A wild impulse to run seized him, though he knew it was impossible. The chair. A stiff upper lip and it would soon be over.

The attendant towered over him as he sat there. "Doctor is ready for you now," she said. "An extraction, I believe?"

#### WAITING THE PERCENTAGE

(Vancouver Star)

A Scottish boy and a Jewish boy had each earned a dollar.

Sandy, in accordance with his in-born frugality, was quick to deposit his in the bank.

Ikey, in accordance with his in-born business instinct, had other plans.

He went to his neighborhood drug store and had his dollar bill changed into nickels and dimes.

Then he took it to the neighborhood grocer's and got a dollar bill for it.

He repeated this maneuver several times.

The druggist stood it about as long as he could. Then he called up Ikey's father, the neighborhood tailor.

He explained that Ikey had had nearly 10 dollar bills changed in his store that afternoon and thought his father ought to know his son had that much money.

Ikey was called to account by his father.

Confiding that he had only \$1 in his possession, Ikey said:

"Why do I change that dollar so often? Well, sooner or later somebody's going to make a mistake, and it ain't going to be me."



Standard

June 7, 1930

Post Office as second

letter

Inc., Publishers  
1 Market Streets

N. RATES

Carrier

3.50; 3 months, \$1.75; 1 month,

\$2.50.

Evening and Sunday, 25c a week.

MENTS.

a favor if they will notify the  
times or lateness in delivery.

ASSOCIATED PRESS.

ly entitled to the use for  
credited to it or not otherwise  
local news published therein.  
cial dispatches therein are also

ustries

ated at the number of new  
ured for New Bedford dur-  
trial Development Division  
as been in existence. All of  
s of the Fairhaven and the  
g concerns utilizing all the  
employment to as many  
in those mills. We would  
ushnet. We would like to  
w industries in excess of  
replacements. But we have  
, and it is neither reason-  
because our highest hopes  
Board of Commerce or its  
t. We must remember that  
ustries that re-locate their  
number of new industries  
at New Bedford is only one  
unities striving to secure  
at cities and towns which  
g them move if they can

a queer game. Often the  
odging them. A story which  
group of men who arrived  
dford—and announced that  
a million dollar piano fac-  
s—a cheap factory site and  
But when questions were  
experience and other things  
ood faith, the answers were  
the promoters appeared to  
e other had, indeed, manu-  
ailed for ten cents on the  
ber of Commerce officials  
at that the community sub-  
ure, yet many citizens who  
s had said they were ready  
industry blamed the cham-  
e are always promoters who  
e of a town's eagerness for  
thing over on it, and any  
ustrial development must  
is kind and against indus-  
detrimental.

voiced criticism of the In-  
a of the local Board of Com-

with contempt was appointed to inquire into lobbying associations and lobbyists. We do not see how, by any stretch of the imagination, fighting in a political campaign for or against a candidate for public office is lobbying. It is contended that while this may be true, the bishop, "as the spokesman of a great church" (to quote the New York Herald Tribune) should be willing to waive technicalities and answer any and all question. Should he? Isn't it as fair to say that as a citizen he performs a service by challenging the Senate's propensity to drag persons before it and cross examine and bully them about anything that seems likely to yield a political advantage? The public has not forgotten, we hope, the case of the New York banker who was summoned to Washington to answer to a committee because he had spoken disparagingly of the Senate. A man may often properly waive his rights, but often it is better to assert them.

The President is justified in his refusal to transmit to the Senate documents relating to the naval treaty the publication of which in his opinion would not be compatible with the public interest. There is precedent for his action. The suspicion is strong that Senator Johnson, in making the demand for the papers in question, was actuated merely by a desire to be obstructive.

## BY THE WAY

By C. G.

In his address before the Garden Club, Mr. Schuler, editor of The Ladies Home Journal, said we have gardens because they keep us young. I confess I had never thought of it in just that light. Occasionally a vague idea has taken form in my mind that gardening is, among other things, a means of making one realize that one is growing old. Again, it has an educational value—the fact is borne home to one that weeds grow better than flowers. Everybody, I suppose, should know this without having a garden, but playing with flowers, or useful vegetables, certainly is an impressive object lesson. Finally, to go no further, no one can have a garden of any kind without learning a great deal about blights and insect pests of which, formerly, he was happily unaware.

\* \* \* \*

The fundamental trouble with gardening is that it is so far to the ground. It doesn't look far, but that is because the eye is so easily deceived. Fortunately the back is not; after a half hour of stooping over to put in bulbs or pull weeds it discovers the fact I have mentioned and wires information of it to the rest of the body. We have all heard, of course, of the hanging gardens of Babylon. They were, in the old days, before we had our subways and the Hawley-Smoot tariff bill, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. I never had any clear idea of what they were like, but have pictured them as gardens hung—from what I cannot even guess—at about the height of a bookkeeper's desk, so that the gardener, sitting at ease on a high stool, could ply his trade in comfort without bending the knee or the back. I hope nobody will tell me they weren't like that at all, because that is obviously what they ought to have been.

\* \* \* \*

There is, of course, gardening and gardening. You may do all the work yourself, from the initial spading to the last weeding. There are people who like this better than they do golf. And there are those who prefer something easier. The other kind of gardening presupposes the services of a gardener. He should be Scotch, of

## ONCE OVERS

Registered U. S. Patent Office



John Mosquito to Mary M.—"Oh, cut it out. Don't you know all the world loves a lover?"

## Editorial Comment

Judge Fosdick's Rebuke.

It is unquestionably in the interest of good order in Bristol county that the demand of Judge Fosdick in Superior Court in New Bedford that less delay be countenanced in the disposal of criminal cases before the court should

to meet the test but will render himself less able to satisfy other desires. He may even undermine his mental and physical health.

On the other hand if he meets disappointment with renewed courage and vigor; if he puts the ideal of service above the hope of reward; if he places a moderate estimate on his ability and

strives cheerfully for the good things within his reach; and if he holds himself rigidly to careful physical well-being, he will gain strength and may gradually attain a mastery of himself and of his field of work that will yield much personal satisfaction and win for him adequate material rewards and a large measure of social esteem.

By C. D. Batchelor

## JEWS AND ARABS

## A First Hand View of the Problem in Palestine Arising Out of Zionist Movement—Political Control Main Issue

By KIRBY PAGE.

His Eminence slowly unrolled a large poster. We could not understand his Arabic but we watched his eyes gleam.

In the courtyard below Paul of Tarsus was once mobbed by a crowd of infuriated Jews who were shocked by his blasphemy. Roman soldiers rushed from the adjoining barracks in time to swerve the course of history.

Through the window the dome of the Mosque of Omar glistened in the brilliant sunlight. On this very spot Abraham had built his crude altar and later Solomon had erected his majestic temple. The Wailing Wall was not far away and the Mount of Olives was clearly visible across the valley.

We listened eagerly as the interpreter translated the words of the Grand Mufti, the supreme religious primate of Islam in Palestine. In the room also was the chairman of the Arab Executive council.

"This poster was issued as a souvenir by a Jewish organization here in Jerusalem. Around the borders, as you see, are pictures of a dozen of our holy places. In the center is the Mosque of Omar; above are the seven-branched candlestick and the 10 commandments; while above all you will notice the Jewish crown."

His Eminence then showed us a leaflet, reprinted from the cover of a Hebrew journal, with a drawing of a vast throng surging toward the temple area, with a Jewish flag flying over the Mosque of Omar.

A week later in the neighboring Kingdom of Iraq, we were able to gain an insight into the attitude of non-Palestinian Arabs toward Zionism. Like a famous predecessor we had gone from Jerusalem to Damascus and down the Street Called Straight. In a Buick car we had crossed the Arabian desert. In old Baghdad we were granted an audience with King Faisal.

"The Jews propose to pack the Arab and his tent on the back of a camel and \* \* \*

Squawk! Squawk! Squawk! Obviously a chicken was in distress. Squawk! Squawk! Squawk!

His Majesty's eyes flashed! A sharp command in an unknown tongue. An the Master of Ceremonies, who was acting as an interpreter, hurried through the open doorway into the garden. The frightened fowl was rescued from the savage clutches of two small puppies!

"The Jews," repeated His Royal Highness, "propose to pack the Arab and his tent on the back of a camel and return him to the desert."

Conversations with leading Jews in Jerusalem convinced us that the worst fears of the Arabs do not rest upon solid reality. That the Arabs, however do not have serious grounds for apprehension cannot be questioned. The truth is that both groups are able to present good cases.

It is easy to be convinced as to the justice of either position if it is considered alone, but the reconciliation of the conflicting interests and desires is extremely difficult. Personally, I have

are shrewder business men; they are backed by the wealth of Zionism throughout the world; they occupy a privileged position in the government of the country; they are supported by the British government; their more extreme elements are aggressive and provocative.

The economic advantages possessed by the Jews are formidable, in spite of some serious disqualifications, notably the lack of experience in agriculture on the part of many colonists. The Arabs are not as a rule skilled in commerce and finance, realms in which Jews lead the world. Therefore the former are likely to get the worst of the bargain in any deals between the two groups. This discrepancy in ability is accentuated by heavy subsidies to Jewish settlers from Zionist funds. During the past 10 years a sum of not less than 50 million dollars has been contributed by the Jews of the world in support of the Palestine program. The budget of the Zionist organization is now approximately \$5,000,000 annually.

Many an Arab has been unable to refuse a tempting offer for his land. In numerous cases the money thus obtained was soon wasted and the owner deeply regretted the sale of his property. In this way enmity toward the Jews has been engendered.

Another important advantage possessed by the Jews is found in the privileged position they occupy in the government of Palestine. The Arabs have uttered vigorous protests because they are taxed without representation, while the attorney general, who drafts the laws and exercises considerable political influence, is a Jew and an ardent Zionist. The number of senior governmental positions held by Jews is greatly in excess of their ratio of the population. In spite of the heavy Jewish immigration since the war, the Jews still constitute only about 18 per cent of the total population. The Joint Palestine Survey commission has estimated that of the cultivable land of Palestine, "approximately 8 per cent is now in Jewish hands." Nevertheless, the small Jewish minority exercises far greater political power than does the Arab majority. The first high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, was a Jew and an enthusiastic Zionist. Concerning the situation, Leo Wolman, one of the survey experts, wrote: "Occupying a position almost co-ordinate with the mandate government, a sort of government within a government, is the Zionist executive, the local representative of the World Zionist organization."

There is no doubt that some of the Jews have been highly provocative. In their enthusiasm over being able to return to the Holy Land, they have sometimes made extravagant statements. Arabs frequently quote the remark attributed to Dr. Weizmann, president of the Zionist organization, that it is proposed to make Palestine as Jewish as England is English. The August riots were preceded by an extremely unwise Jewish demonstration at the Wailing Wall, where fiery speeches were made, the anthem Hatikvah was sung and the Zionist flag unfurled. The organized groups of Jews are especially provocative, the Revisionists, who are some-

Laugh This Off



and you are his boss—in theory. In fact, his servant. You tell him what you want done, then, if not too taciturn, he tells you what he is to do. You say: "Well, McAndrew, I thought we all in this corner here with Buginvillaea." Silence. "It didn't look well there." Silence. "We could put it couldn't we?" A pause, and then McAndrew says: "Yes, I suppose you could." Now if McAndrew is the orderer you ever had, and hasn't been with you for a week, you insist on your plan and argue it. Otherwise, you know at once that the Buginvillaea whatever becomes of it, isn't going in the place designated, because McAndrew has made up his mind it would be better somewhere else. In short, you learn that while you may pay the taxes and McAndrew's wages, it is his garden and not yours. This means, of course, you cannot do any gardening. It must be properly, after breakfast, to put on your big togs, and your gauntlet gloves and your big hat and get your basket and shears and go out to cut a few of McAndrew's roses. With a good gardener you can even putter around with a rake or pick a few rose bugs. This kind of gardening, is a delightful occupation; and as you watch the plants unfold their beauties you can easily persuade yourself that you are one of those persons that love and are glad to do their best for.

Editor of By The Way has sent me a copy of a column in Plymouth, which reads:

#### DANGEROUS

ROAD SLIPPERY WHEN WET

Per Order Board of Selectmen

"I have to serve of them," reads a note accompanying the "when everyone in authority is supposed to be trying to make the roads safer." Somehow it reminds me of a notice I once read on the menu card of a restaurant: "We will please report any discourtesy shown by a waiter to the proprietor."

A man in Wisconsin was in an automobile accident. Following night he dreamed about the crash, jumped out of bed to avoid what he thought was impending and cut his hand jamming it through a window. He brought suit against the drivers of the automobiles who had been involved in the accident, saying that it was the cause of his nightmare and therefore of the injury to his hand; and a jury awarded him a verdict of \$10,000 and costs. This is one of those cases that make one believe that the law is, indeed, an ass. Having a nightmare in which one is threatened with dire peril, and then doing something to avert it, such as crying out for help, is not an unusual experience. If the peril, in a dream, was threatened by a lion, would a man who was himself trying to get away from it have a case against the circus he had attended the day before? It seems pretty far-fetched to me.

## Port and Snappy

Cooties?

American soldiers are accused of introducing potato bugs to France. "If we took potato bugs over there," said Kurvenal, "it was a damn bad trade."—New York Post.

### A Voice from Oregon.

New York night clubs were raided the other night. The authorities got a nerve to try to force the States Constitution on New York!—Portland Oregonian.

### One Consolation.

When you feel utterly worthless it may cheer you to know that nobody considers using you as a bridge prize.—San Francisco Chronicle.

## with Neal R. O'Hara

A complete review of the Senate's seven-month Prohibition investigation:

**FIFTH MONTH. F. Scott McBride took the stand. CHAIRMAN—Dr. McBride, recent magazine polls show the people in favor of modification and repeal.**

**MCBRIDE—I do not believe what I read in the magazines unless I wrote it myself.**

**Dr. McBride denied that God Bless Our Home Brew hung over every rural mantelpiece. He pointed out the benefits of prohibition. He said the old-time saloons had spacious mirrors, but men now spend their booze money on slot machines to see if their ties are on straight.**



The sixth month of the hearing, the Anti-Saloon League had so many star witnesses it decided to play a no-trump hand. Homer Beeswax, a dry congressman, took the stand.

**CHAIRMAN—Mr. Beeswax, isn't it a fact that any congressman who took a drink would immediately be ostracized?**

**BEESWAX—Ossified, Senator, not ostracized.**

**CHAIRMAN—Will you please describe the harmful effects of liquor?**

**BEESWAX—Certainly. Last month in my laboratory I took two guinea pigs. I gave a shot of gin to one of them and he started doing imitations of Charley Chaplin. We had to shoot him for insulting a policeman. The other guinea pig, to whom we gave no liquor, raised a large family, gave them all the luxuries like radio sets and roller skates, and finished with bank deposits of \$21,500.75.**

The Anti-Saloon League denied that radio announcers were not sober men, but admitted few of them could announce that Tschakowsky's Funeral March would be next. The dries claimed they could reduce flask-toting 50 per cent if clothiers would quit selling two-pant suits. The wets claimed that liquor drinking was increasing. They charge that roadhouses are now springing up on detours.

**Hilary Jizzick was sworn as an expert witness.**

**CHAIRMAN—Mr. Jizzick, how is alcohol split?**

**JIZZICK—Fifty to the revenue agents, 30 to the sheriff and 20 to the local cops.**

**CHAIRMAN—Let me ask you a personal question, Mr. Jizzick.**

**Did you ever spend 10 nights in a barroom?**

**JIZZICK—No, but I was six days on the Aquitania.**

**CHAIRMAN—Mr. Jizzick, Dr. Clarence True Wilson says the army and navy could stop bootlegging absolutely. How long do you think it would take?**

**JIZZICK—The army and navy forever.**

**Mr. Jizzick then stated he had made a mistake of 24 hours in his calculation. He said it would take the army and navy forever and a day.**

**CHAIRMAN—Mr. Jizzick, what do you think of Billy Sunday's platform—"To hell with booze."**

**JIZZICK—That is no place to ship it when you can get such good prices for it here.**

**John D. Rockefeller was described as an ardent friend of prohibition. It was shown he raised the price of gasoline one cent in his fight against the roadhouses.**

**The wets played their trump card by calling J. J. Philhook.**

**CHAIRMAN—Mr. Philhook, what is your name?**

**PHILHOOK—John Smith and wife.**

**CHAIRMAN—Are you an avowed wet?**

**PHILHOOK—No. I use a glass of water every night to drop my false teeth in.**

**CHAIRMAN—Isn't it a fact you were drunk on your wedding day?**

**PHILHOOK—No, but my wife carried quite a few orange blossoms.**

**A surprise witness, Sidney B. Willecks, said prohibition worked in Kansas, but it took Saturdays and Sundays off. A straw ballot conducted in Truly Warner's hat store revealed the people are 10 to 1 in favor of sweatbands.**

long been an ardent sympathizer with the Zionist aspirations. After centuries of terrible persecution and cruel discrimination in many lands; it is natural that the Jews should long passionately for the recovery of their ancient homeland, which they say was promised to Abraham by Jehovah and which they have never ruled since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A. D. 70. In the words of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission: "Palestine became for the Jews more than a mere country; it became a symbol of regeneration, of a return to the days of its youthful vigor, to health bodily and spiritual."

On Nov. 2, 1917, Lord Balfour, as British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued the following declaration: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The Arabs, on the other hand, are passionately convinced that they are the victims of gross injustice and that their future is gravely menaced. They point out that their ancestors have been in possession of Palestine for many centuries, that most of the soil remains in their hands, and that they still constitute four-fifths of the population. The idea of transforming their territory into a national home for an alien people from Europe and America is regarded by them with extreme repugnance.

The Grand Mufti remarked to us that if the Jews are justified in claiming a land which they lost more than 1,800 years ago and which they originally obtained by conquest, the Arabs would have a right to demand the return of Spain to their control since they had much more recently occupied that country. Moreover, the Arabs also are descendants of Abraham, through the line of Ishmael, and feel entitled to share equally with their Jewish cousins any rewards arising out of promises made to their common ancestor.

The Arabs complain bitterly that the promises of independence made in order to secure their entrance into the World war on the side of the Allies have not been kept and that they have been betrayed. Promises made in wartime are likely to be vague in meaning. The Balfour Declaration itself is capable of several different interpretations. The British authorities deny the authenticity of certain pledges which the Arab leaders say were made. Doubtless the pledges given were capable of varying interpretations. Certainly most Arabs thought that they had been promised independence and freedom to form a great Arab nation in the event of an Allied victory. The Grand Mufti states this opinion emphatically and said that Palestine was included in the territories promised independence. This same idea was expressed by King Faisal during our interview with him. The group of officials and educators with whom we had a conference in Baghdad were united in the belief that during the war the whole Arab world had been pledged independence.

The Arabs are terribly afraid of the Jews. This fear is not personal, as they are among the bravest of peoples, but corporate. As a group the Arabs are severely handicapped. The Jews

times referred to as Fascists, and the political Communists who always fish in troubled waters. While these groups are small in number, they are strong in lung power.

The way to break the present deadlock was indicated by a Zionist with whom we talked. He expressed the opinion that his people had made a fatal blunder by placing undue emphasis upon politics and by assuming an aggressive and vociferous policy, whereas it would have been the part of wisdom to make an economic success of their agricultural colonies and to create in Palestine a cultural and spiritual home for the Jews of all the world. Any other procedure will produce fatal consequences. To have Palestine dominated by an alien minority is not only gross injustice, but is extremely perilous for the Jews themselves.

If the Zionists will entirely abandon the effort to secure political control of a land inhabited predominantly by Arabs, the prevailing hatred and hostility may be overcome. And from the parched soil of Palestine, rivers of blessings may again flow to all the world.

## ROCKEFELLER OFFERS PARK TO NEW YORK

New York, June 7 (AP)—John D. Rockefeller Jr. offered to the city of New York Friday a 60 acre tract in Washington Heights, in northern Manhattan, for a public park, and offered to spend about \$5,000,000 to make the tract, valued at \$7,000,000, suitable for public purposes.

Mr. Rockefeller tendered the \$12,000,000 gift in a letter to Mayor Walker, who characterized it as "a very gracious offer." Action on it was deferred until a meeting of the board of estimate on June 13.

Former Mayor Hylan refused to accept Rockefeller park gifts during his administration because of "strings" attached to the offers. In connection with Friday's gift Mr. Rockefeller asked city permission to close parts of two east streets adjoining the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research.

The proposed park property includes the former Billings estate on Washington Heights, a high plateau to the north of it and a four-acre tract within boundaries on which is traced a building of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

## LIGHTS NOT ON CITY PROPERTY REPORTED

A check of lights paid for by the city of New Bedford revealed recently that there were two lights located on private property. Superintendent William P. Briggs informed the committee on street lights last evening. The superintendent was instructed to determine how and why they were ordered.

One of the lights for which the city has been paying several years is located at the railroad station at Weld street. The other is in the driveway at Sassaquin sanitarium. In the latter instance there is some question as to whether this driveway is not a city controlled thoroughfare and this will be determined in the inquiry to be made by the superintendent.

The committee approved bills amounting to \$10,401.21.

### Foreign Vegetable Trade Up.

Washington (AP)—Showing a steady increase the last two years, the volume of foreign trade of the United States in vegetables last year registered more than \$40,000,000. Imports had a value of nearly \$29,000,000 as compared with about \$12,000,000 in exports.



Post Office as second class matter  
Sons, Inc., Publishers  
t and Market Streets

Subscription Rates  
1 or Carrier  
\$3.50: 3 months, \$1.75: 1 month,  
\$2.50.  
Evening and Sunday, 25c a week.  
Order.

Complaints.  
infer a favor if they will notify the  
ularities or lateness in delivery.  
E ASSOCIATED PRESS.

clusively entitled to the use for  
hes credited to it or not otherwise  
the local news published therein.  
special dispatches therein are also

Publicity

School Committee last Thurs-  
objected to action being taken  
ers nominated by the Super-  
wanted more time to examine  
the hands of members of the  
before the meeting we do not  
is one to be settled between  
superintendent of Schools. We  
is desirable that such lists  
advance of the meetings at  
on them. City officials often  
cannot give out matters like  
divance of their presentation to  
on them, the idea being that  
teous. The issue is not, how-  
ody and the newspapers, but  
nd the public, the newspapers  
n of public information. And  
d their servants, the former  
e important.

is a wholesome thing. The  
sted in such matters as the  
chool Committee might well  
nominations publicity before

as a Politician

Hoover's first year in office,  
in Harper's, finds that his  
the one which even his ad-  
elected—namely, lack of skill  
politics.

Mr. Hoover has disclosed "a  
nders him indecisive at the  
e won or lost; this weakness  
in order to win he would have  
rly of conflicting wills which  
opular government." As to  
says: "If intelligence and  
gh, Mr. Hoover may master  
ce. If it is possible to ac-  
in life by rational induction,  
es, as the natural politicians  
acquired the art, then Mr.  
n out to have been, not a  
failures, but a very intensive,  
education."

The "hurly-burly of con-  
Lippmann refers would be

abouts. Recent frosts have endangered the strawberries.  
The long drouth was not broken until too late to save  
the hay crop from being less than normal. However,  
hope springs eternal. The common belief is that the  
unfavorable spring means a fine summer. If we haven't  
been, we are to be blest. So here's hoping that we are  
due for a spell of weather appropriate to the season and  
permissive of indoor comfort without artificial heat.

The falling of the large elm at the corner of Sixth  
and Walnut streets yesterday inspires mingled regret at  
the passing of another of the city's fine shade trees and  
apprehension as to how many others, still standing, are  
in a precarious condition. These large trees, in their  
last stages, are a source of great peril, and it is fortunate  
that the crash of yesterday came at a time when nobody  
was in the danger zone.

BY THE WAY

By C. G.

One notices odd and seemingly contradictory things in  
the mercantile field. The other day I drove past a store  
in a residential district. The sign was still on it—So and  
So's neighborhood store—but the place was empty. That  
it succumbed to the chains is a natural inference. Yet  
it was, no doubt, like all neighborhood stores, a con-  
venience. It kept a varied stock, was open Sundays,  
holidays and evenings—always available to furnish an  
extra quart of milk or other things required in the  
emergency of unexpected company. In spite of this, it  
has given up the struggle—and people in the neighbor-  
hood will have to be a little more provident and far-  
sighted than they have been in the past in order to sup-  
ply their needs at stores that keep regular hours and are  
not open Sundays and holidays.

\*\*\*\*\*

Naturally the fate of this shop is attributed to the  
chains, but I wonder how far the drug store has affected  
it. The drug store, once what its name implies, is more  
and more becoming a general store. It does not keep but-  
ter or bread—at least I never ran across one that did—  
but on a pinch it will provide milk. And it has books,  
periodicals, writing paper, picture cards—in short, about  
everything you might want in a hurry except foods—and  
for all I know there may be drug stores that could fur-  
nish a can of tomatoes on a pinch, and many of them  
make a specialty of furnishing sandwiches and salads.  
Only the other day two druggists, discussing the merits  
of a third who had just died, agreed that he was an  
honor to the trade, although admitting that he did not  
put enough seasoning in his cream cheese sandwiches.  
Against the trend toward specialization, the drug store  
shows a marked trend toward diversification. Lately it  
has come into prominence as a book shop. Drug stores  
sell so many books as to constitute an important factor  
in the distribution of the product of the publishing  
houses. To a complaint by a regular bookseller the retort  
was made that, in self defense, he should lay in a stock  
of drugs. I should not expect to get a headache tablet  
in a book store, but it is surprising how far such stores  
have gone in developing sidelines to the books and sta-  
tionery that used to be the bookseller's stock in trade.

\*\*\*\*\*

Here, no doubt, we could trace the influence of the  
department store. Merchants who used to specialize  
pretty closely, found that the big general stores were  
crowding them. The result was a search for new side-  
lines that would in themselves yield a profit and that  
would draw customers. The results were often odd, as  
when a New Bedford bookshop sold maple syrup. Yet I  
have an idea the policy was a sound one. The sugges-  
tion that the bookshop turn into a drug store was, of  
course, facetious, but it should not be forgotten that a  
drug store has one advantage that is of great value—  
namely, the legal right to do business on Sunday and

ONCE OVERS

Registered U. S. Patent Office



What Price Glorification.  
"My portraits are higher in price, Mrs. Mazuma, if the sitter wishes  
to look as she doesn't."

COMMUNICATIONS

Darrow—and All Night Parking.

To the Editor of The Standard:

Once more I am back presuming  
upon your good nature as middleman in  
the controversy between Mr. McClelland  
and myself. In his second letter,  
Mr. McClelland resorts to stories told  
by preachers, or to the Bible. To make  
judgment by such rules is the humor  
of a student of theology. My previous  
letter if interpreted properly does not  
seek to whitewash Darrow, or to con-  
done the actions of his clients. It was  
simply a preachment against intoler-  
ance as exemplified by a person of the  
cloth in wishing to have one whose

ence is gained along with a new free-  
dom, and a set of rules drawn up as a  
guarantee of good faith—the Constitu-  
tion—which breathes toleration above  
all else in every fiber. At last the stage  
is reached where humanity can think  
and act freely, so long as there is no  
trespassing on the rights of others.  
There is no sense in quarrelling with  
one who drinks milk if I prefer water.  
His milk drinking will not do me the  
slightest harm unless I become obsessed  
with a foolish idea that it may, and  
once obsession takes hold, intolerance  
will be found lurking close by. I see by  
the papers that Dr. S. Parkes Cadman  
has been raked over the coals for ut-

formation or even in trained intellect,  
though the main purpose of education  
may well be to teach the mind to func-  
tion usefully. Part of the benefit is  
from the abstract inspiration toward  
good character, good citizenship, clean  
sport, sound moral standards. Far from  
the least is the forming of an asso-  
ciation with men and institutions which  
will endure through life.  
For those who will take it, the col-  
lege offers perhaps the most colossal  
bargain in history—at just about half  
what it costs to produce. None the  
less we feel the time has come in which  
one really must stress the readiness of  
the recipient to get enough out of it  
to make it worth while paying the bills  
which are heavy. Will he, or she, come  
out at the end a finer, more useful  
citizen? If so, no sacrifice is too great  
to make in order to enable that result.  
Colleges should teach the difficult

By C. D. Batchelor

THE UPHEAVAL IN TURKEY

What Mustafa Kemal Has Done to Make Turkish Govern-  
ment Mistress in Its Own Household—A New Spirit  
Rules Ancient Domain of Sultans

By KIRBY PAGE.

His Excellency appeared quite unper-  
turbed by the accident. In pushing back  
my chair slightly in order to avoid ob-  
structing the view of my companion, I  
had overturned a small glass-covered  
table. My embarrassment greatly ex-  
ceeded that of the foreign minister.

For an hour and a half Tewfik Rush-  
di Bey discussed with us a wide range  
of questions affecting Turkey's foreign  
policy.

"We will enter the League of Na-  
tions," he said, "when the Great Powers  
are prepared to receive us as equals."

And with fire in his eyes, he added,  
"But not until then!"

Here was exhibited the self-confide-  
nce and defiant attitude of the new Turkey.  
Gone are the days when the statesmen  
of that country groveled in the dust be-  
fore the European powers. For many  
centuries the chief European powers  
were granted capitulations, or special  
privileges and immunities in Turkey.  
Under these agreements foreigners were  
not subject to Turkish laws and were  
not required to pay the ordinary Turkish  
taxes; but formed separate communities  
and were governed by their own offi-  
cials.

All this has now been swept away.  
Turkey is mistress of her own house-  
hold. With vigilant eye she watches any  
possible encroachment on the part of  
her neighbors.

At reception accorded us in Angora,  
attended by leading officials and educa-  
tors, we received further indications of  
the new spirit now abroad in that land.  
In response to a harmless question as to  
why they regarded imperialism with  
such obvious hostility, an outstanding  
publicist arose to utter "a few feeble  
remarks." Nearly an hour later he sub-  
sided! Between the Alpha and Omega  
of his discourse we became wiser and  
sadder men! We had intended to make  
further inquiries but suddenly decided  
that discretion was the better part of  
valor! We were entirely surrounded by  
potential orators!

This spectacular recovery of Turkey  
after her crushing defeat in the Great  
War has astonished the world. Must-  
afa Kemal Pasha and his nationalist  
colleagues were regarded as outlaws  
when they refused to accept the hu-  
miliating Treaty of Sevres, which had  
been dictated by the victors, and bid  
armed defiance to the Allies. But these  
despised rebels, by one of the most in-  
credible political and military miracles  
of modern times, utterly routed the  
Greek army and cleared the whole of  
Anatolia of foreign troops. The new  
Treaty of Lausanne was as supreme a  
diplomatic triumph for Turkey as any  
nation has won in many decades.

But this was only the beginning of  
the drastic reversals wrought by the  
Turkish nationalists. The Sultan stood  
in their way and so he was swept  
aside. When placed on trial for trea-  
son, his majesty fled to Malta on a  
British dreadnought. Thereupon the  
Sultanate was abolished and Mustafa  
Kemal Pasha was elected first presi-  
dent of the Turkish Republic.

The sultan had occupied a dual posi-  
tion. He was also Caliph, supreme re-  
ligious primate of all Moslems through-  
out the world. After a brief experi-  
ment with a new Caliph who was  
stripped of all political authority, the

been regarded as shameful as it would  
be today if an American woman ap-  
peared on the streets nude to the waist.  
Short skirts and low necks are now  
as popular as in the West. Social dan-  
cing between the sexes is sweeping the  
country.

Polygamy has been declared illegal.  
The days of the harem—pronounced  
hareem—are numbered.

The old capital city has been aban-  
doned and a new one built. Think of  
transferring the seat of government  
from Washington to Fargo! Constan-  
tinople is one of the most beautiful  
cities in the world. But beauty is not  
the most desirable advantage in a na-  
tional headquarters. The city on the  
Bosphorus was too much dominated by  
Europeans. And in time of war it was  
too exposed and vulnerable.

And so a little one horse town in the  
interior was chosen. Even its name had  
become a by-word in many circles. Sure-  
ly you have heard it said: "I'll get his  
Angora!"

He who laughs last! An almost  
miraculous transformation has been  
wrought within the past five years.  
From a medieval fortress on a barren  
hill, Angora is being reconstructed into  
a modern capital along the European  
or American model. Imposing stone  
buildings are being erected, old quarters  
are being demolished, streets are being  
widened and paved, up-to-date im-  
provements are being introduced. The  
modern bank buildings are handsomely  
furnished and equipped with the latest  
office appliances. The finest of the new  
hotels would be an object of extrava-  
gant boasting in any American city of  
similar size. The rates are as high as  
those charged on the Riviera.

These remarkable achievements of  
the Turkish nationalists appear even  
more astonishing when one recalls the  
handicaps they have overcome and the  
barriers they have surmounted. Po-  
litically they had a heritage of tyranny  
and corruption for many centuries. The  
cream of Turkish manhood was contin-  
uously decimated by a never ending se-  
ries of wars. From 1911 to 1923 the  
Turks fought almost daily in the war  
with Italy, the Balkan wars, the World  
war and the conflict with Greece.

The country as a whole is desperately  
poor. Much of the soil is arid and  
barren. We rode for 13 hours on a  
train through a desolate region. Prac-  
tically the only habitations we saw  
were primitive Bedouin tent colonies  
for the shepherds and miserable village  
huts of mud. A glance at a relief map  
shows that most of the interior of Tur-  
key consists of a high plateau with in-  
sufficient rainfall. Agricultural meth-  
ods are exceedingly primitive and the  
average yield pitifully small. Some re-  
gions have had five successive years of  
poor crops. Artificial fertilizers are  
rarely used, and manures are burned  
as fuel instead of being used to enrich  
the soil.

Industry is in a backward state.  
Skilled workmen are scarce and receive  
the comparatively high wage of from  
\$2 to \$4 per day. But unskilled work-  
ers receive only 50 to 75 cents daily.  
Taxes are exceedingly high. A huge  
national debt was inherited. The ad-  
verse trade balance is severe. Trans-  
portation facilities are wholly inade-  
quate. Very little foreign capital is  
coming in, due to the severe restric-



political blow  
ever had any-  
an engineer,  
politics you  
s, obstinacy,  
er him. Mr.  
obably has a  
ucive to ac-

ust be skilled,  
ive aptitude.  
ng with the  
cal life. If  
asters it be-  
a remarkable  
leve that he  
ot that he is

s the Balti-  
that there  
ust offer in-  
s of the fact  
immigration  
rigid exclu-  
quota restric-  
of America.  
r. Japanese  
a feared the  
immigration  
very limited  
f the region  
the South-  
restrictions,  
the country  
its the num-  
eat Britain,  
te wide to  
into Ameri-

lace to offer  
re ought to  
rred to are  
ed by them.  
the feelings  
ld be con-  
ck to say  
where they  
ometimes it  
on of a fine  
who indi-  
consideration  
to practice  
what they  
nationalism.

the traditional policy which permits it to be open nights and holidays.

The Rural New-Yorker tells of an interesting law suit against a telephone company in Ulster county. A man found his barn on fire, and called Central to request that an alarm be given to summon the firemen. For some reason which is not explained the request was not complied with. The fire spread from the barn in which it started and destroyed two others. The owners of the buildings, or the tenants, sued the telephone company on the ground that if the alarm had been given when requested the firemen would have arrived in time to save their property. The company's answer was that they were not telephone subscribers and that it was under no obligation toward them, and the court sustained this view.

It is good law, I suppose, but a poor claim for a public service corporation to set up. It would be interesting to know why the central office did not call the firemen. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it is safe to say that this would have been done. Most of the small towns today have fire departments, but few of them have fire alarm systems. Dependence is placed chiefly on the telephone. In some rural communities there are locomotive tires and hammers, on which a box number can be tapped by hand and the sound of which carries a long distance, but I have never seen this contrivance in use in this part of the country. The telephone is so well distributed that it affords the quickest means of sounding an alarm, and operators usually are willing to go to a great deal of trouble not only to put the call through to headquarters and to individual members of the department, but to notify neighbors.

That this service is obligatory is doubtful. That it is a service the company could fairly be required to render is tenable. After all, it secures from the public valuable essential rights in the way of locations for poles, and owes something to the public therefor. Certainly, if it is obligated to help in giving alarms of fire, it should not be permitted to confine the service to fires threatening the property of its subscribers, and to refuse it to persons who have no telephones.

## Short and Snappy

### Pointed Paragraphs.

When a man gives more than a dollar to charity he manages to get caught in the act.

Might doesn't always make right; occasionally it falls down while trying to make good.

A woman refuses to acknowledge her inability to accomplish anything she wants to.

Life is merely a sentence at hard labor—with something added for good behavior.

It's easier to say disagreeable things than it is to do them.—Chicago News.

### Try Your Tongue on This.

Tongue-twisters aid in overcoming faulty speech and help in improving pronunciation. Here is one sent in by reader A. M. Garbutt of Worland, Wyo. It is guaranteed to limber up any tongue, providing it doesn't get the same all tangled up. It is: "How many sniffs of sifted snuff would a snuff sniffer sniff if a sifted snuff sniffer sniffed sifted snuff?" Learn the words in the sentence so that you can say them fast. Then get your friends to try it.—The Pathfinder.

### Housecleaning Hospitality.

The wife who can smile and be jovial and courteous to the invited guest the husband brings home during housecleaning time is a jewel so rare that there is no absolute record of any in existence.—Hartford City News.

midst. Had I been touched in a sensitive spot your editorial would have been sufficient to draw me out, but no, my sensitiveness, if any, is engendered by the fact that we still have those amongst us who would eliminate those whose thoughts run counter with their own. If sensitive spots are in evidence Mr. McClelland surely was first to show them.

For his edification I would state that I have read the life of Christ, but whether correctly or not I do not know. I am afraid the standard of correctness in reading anything has not been discovered yet as far as proper interpretation goes. In my way of thinking it appears that the people of Christ's time did not accept Him as anything else, but just what Mr. McClelland calls Darrow, i. e., a false teacher. The then common mode of elimination was put into effect, but suppose that they had tolerated "this man" and instead of putting him to death at an early age he had lived to reach the allotted three score and 10. How much more of a chance should we have to judge of his greatness. But intolerance got in its dastardly work then and was rampant for centuries, oceans of blood have been spilt. The cross, the gallows, guillotine or sword for thousands, aye hundreds of thousands amongst which were the best minds and intellect of the day. And then behold a new dawn arrives, Magna Charter is signed in England, the move for freedom gets underway. Later comes the American revolution, the war is fought and won. Independ-

tering what he has reason to believe is the truth about the Bible, and right away somebody gets busy trying to eliminate. Probably some of the questions Cadman has had put to him have set him thinking with results.

Let me digress from the main theme at this point to bring something to your notice which is in somewhat the same category. I had not paid much notice to what I had read apropos the all night parking problem until the other day I went with a friend in search of a second hand car. At the very first place we visited the owner of a large public garage pointed out his wares to the tune of at least 15 cars which were parked right out on the public roadway. I got to wondering why on earth there should be any objection to the fellow, who, to save a dollar these hard times, leaves his one-and-only in front of his dwelling during the wee sma' hours. There must be many cars during these hard times left out nights that would be under cover if conditions were better. I am absolutely neutral on this question, but would prefer if any changes are contemplated that the city government have objections from other sources than those obviously brought for selfish motives. Passing laws to suit garage owners and forcing car owners to pay garage rent is about analogous to making it compulsory for all men to wear straw hats to benefit hat makers.

Thanking you for past favors and promising not to trouble you again on this topic.

WALTER BIRDSALL,  
76 Hathaway street.

## EDITORIAL COMMENT

### How About This?

Shall the boy or girl go to college? This is the question that at this season of the year agitates many a family hereabouts. The wise answer is not easy—perhaps it is less easy than in former years because of the general prevalence of hard business conditions everywhere—and it is not even easy to determine whether or not to go on to college for four years is a desirable thing in itself. Of course it is "the thing" to do, in the sense that it has come to be the fashionable thing. Moreover one is commendably anxious to give to one's children every possible advantage. But everything depends on a wise decision as to whether or not going to college really is an advantage, in a given case.

That decision ought to be governed by a candid assessment of the character and propensities of the pupil in each instance. College education, for those who are sincerely desirous to profit by it, is one of the most desirable things in the world. For those who will merely idle away four valuable years and neglect the reasonable opportunities of self-improvement that are offered them, it is at best a questionable boon, which may cost more than it is actually worth.

By utilizing the opportunities reasonably we by no means would imply that college education is a flat failure for all who do not attain Phi Beta Kappa rank, or stand in the top half of the class. We mean only that the boy or girl who clearly wants to treat college as a sort of social stepping-stone or as a means of thoughtless diversion or as a matter of athletic sport, or craves only to do what it is the fashion-

able thing to do and who will consequently do only just enough college work to "get by" and remain in college, is probably not worth the sending.

The colleges are overcrowded, remember, and too often by young people who are not there because of any hunger and thirst for learning. Still, one must adopt a lenient standard recognizing that books and examinations are only a part of the picture and that rubbing even an indifferent elbow with cultivation is likely to leave valuable traces on the average individual in spite of himself. In short is your son, or your daughter likely to derive enough benefit from such an experience to make it pay? If so—then by all means make any sacrifice that may be necessary in order to enable going to college! If not—well, don't waste time and money on it!

The colleges are the making of thousands of boys and girls—and the ruin of a good many others. The grave question is what the effect is likely to be on each particular individual; and yet perhaps the safest rule is to give the rather doubtful ones the benefit of the doubt and let them try. But it is simple folly to keep on paying for higher education in the case of such as speedily prove that they don't want it enough to take it; or to keep in college any young person who seems to be deriving therefrom more of harm than good as sometimes does happen.

Pretty nearly every college is a good college in these days, for those who have even a moderate desire to turn what the colleges offer to account. For those who have not such a desire no college is any good—not even the best. Moreover the desired results are by no means all in the way of stored-up in-

of living together wisely, helpfully, sanely, as men and women—and that's what they try to do. In a vast number of cases they succeed measurably—and in altogether too many cases for comfort they fail—but it is usually in those cases, the fault of the student and not of the college.—Lowell Courier-Citizen.

### "The Owl and the Pussy Cat."

Now that the college glee clubs, as we pointed out some days ago, have gone severely classical, it seems that the high tradition of "The Owl and the Pussy Cat" is being carried on in other places. We have a communication from Mr. Eugene F. Robert, secretary of the Big Six Glee club, otherwise known as the Singing Printers, informing us that this immortal piece is now in process of rehearsal; also that the club gives due attention to "Pussy in the Well," the "Medley From the South," "The Viking Song," "The Midshipmite," "Comrades in Arms," "Stars of a Summer Night," "Kentucky Babe," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," and other compositions of the sort. Moreover, it is quite plain that it understands its business and the why and wherefore of the musical literature to which it devotes its time. "These girls from Vassar may be pretty good," says Mr. Robert, "but can they bear down on bass?" That is the nub of the whole matter, and it just as pertinent to Bach, Mozart, Palestrina, Carlissimi, Scarlatti, and all these other fine gentlemen as it is to the girls from Vassar. They may be pretty good, to, but how about the bass? The polyphonic weavings are so intricate that you cannot bear it; and as Mr. Roberts remarks "a chorus without bass must be pretty much like bread without butter." He might well have said, "like butter without bread," for bass was ever the foundation of harmony, tenor the top dressing. Give us some good foggy bass. When we hear about a bull frog we don't want it to sound this way:

And the  
bull  
frog  
in  
the  
pool  
We want it sound this way:  
And the  
bull  
frog  
in  
the  
POOL.

In other words, we want it to sound like a bull frog and not like a tree toad. We think the Big Six Glee club has the right idea, and we hope to be invited to its next concert.—New York World.

### Aviation Tea Planned.

An aviation tea, the first ever held in this vicinity, is being planned at the Sound Airways Inc. hangar on the afternoon of July 12th, at which time officials of at least two of the local business women's clubs will be asked to pour and introduce several women prominent in aviation.

Miss Lorraine Deffen, president of the Wing and Prop club of East Boston, the first women's aviation unit ever organized in this country and Mrs. "Teddy" Kenyon, both women pilots, will probably be the speakers at the tea.

Turkish nationalists adopted the revolutionary procedure of completely abolishing the Caliphate. It was as if Mussolini had abolished the Papacy and exiled the Pope.

Steps were then taken to separate church and state. All governmental religious foundations were abolished, including the ministry of Wakfs or religious endowments. All religious orders, such as the Dervishes, were banned. All schools and colleges were placed under rigorous supervision and control of the civil government. Proselytizing in mission schools conducted by foreign institutions is prohibited. Christian schools are not permitted to give Biblical instruction, to Moslem children. As a sop to the orthodox followers of Mahommed, religious instruction is given twice per week to pupils in three grades.

I secured an English translation of the text-book authorized by the Turkish Department of Education. I could hardly believe my eyes! This was not a course in Islam! It was nationalism, pure and unadulterated!

Of course the prophet taught charity. But wisdom must guide the selection of the objects of one's benefactions. Alms bestowed upon a beggar accomplish no permanent results. Children, there is a far better way. Make a contribution to the Aviation society. Because "a few aeroplanes can devastate with five or 10 bombs a great city or an immense army in a moment!"

But we have by no means exhausted the list of radical changes brought about by the present leaders of Turkey.

Think of scrapping the alphabet which has been in daily use for hundreds of years and importing an entirely different set of letters! And doing this on a single day! Yet that is just what was done. After Dec. 1, 1928, the use of the Arabic alphabet in new publications within the Turkish Republic became illegal. Roman letters alone have been permitted since that date.

The President himself set an example. Indeed, the soldier and statesman became a schoolmaster. In a village far in the interior I saw a photograph of a class in the new letters taught by the Gazi, or Victor, as Mustafa Kemal Pasha is everywhere acclaimed.

A whole new literature must be created. Imagine the confusion if the Roman letters were scrapped in the United States and the Arabic alphabet substituted!

In the long run the people of Turkey will profit greatly, as hitherto a knowledge of Arabic, next to Chinese the most difficult of all languages to learn, was required before one could write Turkish correctly.

I take off my hat to statesmen with sufficient wisdom and courage to inaugurate this momentous change.

Speaking of hats! The fez has been banned by law. All the men are compelled to wear hats. The fez has a religious significance and was therefore obnoxious to the leaders who are valiantly endeavoring to transform Turkey into a western nation.

For three days after I reached Constantinople I did not see a single veiled woman. There is no national law against veils but they are severely frowned upon by the powers that be. Indeed, in the Province of Trebizond they are banned on grounds of health.

The radical nature of this change can scarcely be appreciated in the West. Even a few years ago, for a Turkish lady to have exposed her face to the public gaze of strange men would have

lions imposed by the Turkish fears of foreign domination. Illiteracy is general. The health of a considerable proportion of the people is bad.

The Turkish nationalists have committed many blunders. They are fallible humans with conspicuous weaknesses. Some of their policies are highly dangerous.

But their record of constructive achievement stands like a Rock of Gibraltar.

Dig through the dusty pages of your histories. Observe the outstanding accomplishments of our own times. Where can you find a parallel to the amazing upheaval in Turkey?

## DAILY HEALTH TALK

By GEORGE R. LAKE, M. D.,  
Chicago, Illinois.

Even those who have not studied Latin are familiar with the old Roman phrase "mens sana in corpore sano" (a sound mind in a sound body). It has, in fact, been repeated so often and so carelessly that people have forgotten what it means.

As a matter of fact, the mind and the body are so thoroughly mixed up, in a human being, that nothing very serious can happen to one without affecting the other. A man can not have a sound body unless a sound mind dwells in it. If you don't believe in this interaction, watch some shy person in an embarrassing position, and see him blush (a purely physical dilating of the blood vessels in the skin of his face); or remember the last time you were ill and how touchy and crabbed you were, although you ordinarily have a beautiful disposition.

When a man has a high fever he often shows some of the symptoms of insanity, and we say he is delirious. The unfortunate sufferers from lockjaw are in such a state of nervous tension that a careless touch upon the bedclothes or the flashing of a bright light will throw them into violent convulsions.

If these things happen in certain diseases, it is only reasonable to believe that, in any illness, the quieter we can keep the mental and nervous state of the patient, the more rapidly he will improve.

When a person is acutely ill, he should be protected from all sorts of disturbances. The air in his room should be fresh, but moderately warm and of an even temperature, without drafts; the light should be moderate and even, with no sudden flashes; and every unnecessary noise should be suppressed.

The person who is seriously ill does not want, and should not have any visitors. No one should enter the sick-room except those who must do so in order to care for the patient. Even the flowers, now so often sent by well-wishers, should be kept in another room until the sick man is definitely on the mend, for their odors and bright colors may cause him enough psychic (mental or emotional) disturbance to interfere with his recovery.

Do not forget that the psyche (the Greeks used that word as we use the word soul) is just as much a part of a man as his chest or his stomach, and needs as intelligent and sympathetic treatment, in illness, as is given to any of his other parts and organs.



## PRAYER CARDS

Every day a different one of these 28 cards should be placed in a conspicuous place where it will be seen frequently—on a desk or work-bench or mirror or kitchen-sink.

The card is a constant reminder to pray, and provides the content of a brief prayer. Repeat the words silently many times during the day.

### **Especially Helpful to the Sick and Convalescent**

35 cents per set

Send orders to

**KIRBY PAGE**  
LA HABRA, CALIF.

## GOD NEEDS MY HELP TODAY

1. "I am in union with the Father and the Father with me."—John Twentieth Century.
2. "He who believes in me will himself do the work that I am doing; will do greater work still, because I am going to the Father."—John Twentieth Century.<sup>1</sup>
3. Convict me, O Lord, of the sin of lone-handedness.
4. **Today I will try to think with God and work with God.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

1. The Twentieth Century New Testament, published by Fleming H. Revell, New York.

## TODAY I WILL LIVE WITH GOD

3

1. "God is Love; and he who lives in love lives in God, and God in him."—I John 4:16 Twentieth Century.
2. "And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him."—Gen. 1:27.
3. Forgive me, O Lord, for living as a mere animal so much of the time.
4. **By thy help, O Father, I will be aware of thy presence throughout this day, and will live as a good member of thy home.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## GOD OFFERS GOOD GIFTS THIS DAY

1. "So if you, bad as you are, know enough to give your children what is how much more surely will your Father in heaven give what is good."—Matt. 7:11 Goodspeed.
2. "As a deer longs for the water-courses, so my whole being longs for the God."—Ps. 42:1 Smith-Goodspeed.
3. Too often I have betrayed myself and rejected God's good gifts and upon husks with the swine.
4. **But at least for today I can and I will partake of God's bounteous joyous gratitude.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## POWER WILL COME INTO MY LIFE TODAY FROM GOD

5

1. "The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid?"—Ps. 27:1.
2. "And the Lord hath said unto me, 'My grace is sufficient for thee: for my power is made perfect in weakness . . .' for when I am weak, then am I strong."—II Cor. 12:9, 10.
3. Forgive my pride and my doubt, my arrogance and my despair, O Lord.
4. **This day I will accept strength from thee, as the tree is nourished by sap from the root.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## I WILL HAVE FELLOWSHIP TODAY WITH GOD IN CHRIST

1. "Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who in Christ has blessed us with every spiritual blessing within the heavenly sphere."—Eph. 1:3 Moffatt.
2. "Jesus answered him . . . My Father will love him, and both of us will be in face to face fellowship with him; yes, we will make our special dwelling place with him."—John. 14:23 Williams.
3. O Father, forgive me for refusing so often to walk in companionship with Thee and Thy Son my Lord.
4. **I will seek to be a worthy member of thy family today.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## TODAY I WILL SHARE

7

1. "Every good gift and every perfect present is from heaven, and comes down from the Father."—James 1:17 Goodspeed.
2. "If some brother or sister is thinly clad and has no food for the day, and one of you says to them, 'Blessings on you, keep warm, eat until you have a plenty,' without giving them the things that are needed for the body, what good does it do?"—James 2:15, 16 Williams.<sup>1</sup>
3. O God, forgive me for covetousness and callousness.
4. **This day I will share with those who are in need.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

1. The New Testament: A Translation in the Language of the People, by C. B. Williams, published by Bruce Humphries, Inc., Boston.

## GOD WILL MAKE MY LIFE COUNT TODAY

1. "For it is by God's loving-kindness that you have been saved, through faith. It is not due to yourselves; the gift is God's."—Eph. 2:8 Twentieth Century.
2. "You are the salt of the earth . . . You are the light of the world."—Matt. 5:13, 14.
3. Forgive me, O Lord, because the salt of my life has so often been lost and the light of my life has so frequently been very darkness.
4. **Today I will flavor and enlighten those with whom I have contact.**

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*



## THIS DAY WILL BE LIVED IN CONFIDENCE

9

1. "God eternal is your home, and underneath you are the everlasting arms!"—Deut. 33:27 Moffatt.
2. "But we do know that God causes all things to work together for the good of those who love him."—Rom. 8:28 Twentieth Century.
3. Why, O Lord do I continue doing those things which prevent thee from bestowing upon me thy richest blessings?
4. This day I will trust thee and follow thee.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## GOD WILL HELP ME FIND MYSELF TODAY

1. "What no eye has ever seen, what no ear has ever heard, what never entered the mind of man, God has prepared all that for those who love him."—I Cor. 2:9 Moffatt.
2. "Anyone who loses himself in the cause of the kingdom will find himself."—Mark 8:35 Robinson.<sup>1</sup>
3. Too often, O Lord, I have been content with low aims and selfish ambitions.
4. But during these hours I will try to forget self in doing thy work.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

<sup>1</sup> The Sayings of Jesus, by B. W. Robinson, published by Harper & Brothers, New York.

## THIS DAY I WILL SHARE IN MY FATHER'S RICHES

11

1. "What a fathomless wealth lies in the wisdom and knowledge of God!"—Rom. 11:33 Moffatt.
2. "We are now God's children, but what we are to be has not been unveiled. We know that if it is unveiled, we shall be like Him."—I John 3:2 Williams.
3. I cannot deny that frequently I forget my heritage and that often I am blind to my real destiny.
4. Today I will explore the depth of riches in God and in Christ Jesus.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## I WILL LIVE AS A BROTHER TODAY

1. "There is but one God, the Father, who is the source of all things and the goal of our living."—I Cor. 8:6 Williams.
2. "And he has made of one blood all the nations of men living on the face of the earth."—Acts 17:26 Basic English.<sup>1</sup>
3. Forgive me, O Father, for treating other individuals as Negroes or Orientals, instead of treating them as thy sons and daughters.
4. I am determined to treat every man as a brother and as an equal.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

<sup>1</sup> The New Testament in Basic English, published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

## TODAY I WILL BE FORGIVING

13

1. "For thou, O Lord, art good and forgiving, and abounding in kindness to all that call upon them."—Ps. 86:5 Goodspeed.
2. "And Jesus said, Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."—Luke 23:34.
3. Forgive me, O God, for so often being unkind and uncharitable and bitter.
4. Today I will try to be forgiving even until seventy times seven.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## ALL DAY GOD IS BY MY SIDE

1. "For God loved the world so much that He gave His only Son, so that anyone who trusts in Him may never perish but have eternal life."—John 3:16 Williams.
2. "And what is man, that thou should'st think of him? . . . Yet thou hast made him little less than divine, thou hast crowned him with majesty and honour . . ."—Ps. 8:4, 5 Moffatt.
3. O Father, forgive me for living so often as an alien in a far country, rather than enjoying fellowship in thy home.
4. This day I am determined to walk hand in hand with the living God.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## THIS DAY IS PART OF MY ETERNITY

15

1. "Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations."—Ps. 145:13.
2. "It is he that hath made us, and we are his; we are his people, and the sheep of his pasture."—Ps. 100:3.
3. Forgive me, O God, for gazing so continuously at the ground beneath my feet, and failing to look more steadily into the long years ahead.
4. Today I will endeavor to live with the realization that I am already in thy everlasting kingdom.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## NOTHING CAN SEPARATE GOD FROM ME TODAY

1. "For I am certain that neither death nor life . . . nor anything else created, will be able to part us from God's love in Christ Jesus our Lord."—Rom. 8:38, 39 Moffatt.
2. "See what wonderful love the Father has bestowed on us in letting us be called God's children, and that is what we are!"—I John 3:1 Williams.
3. Why, oh why, do I permit myself so often to become separated from God?
4. This day I will keep close to thy side, Father.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*



1. "My Father is still working even now, and so I am working."—John 5:17 Basic English.
2. "Yet now, O Lord, thou art our Father; We are the clay, and thou art our potter; We are all of us the work of thy hand."—Isa. 64:8 Smith-Goodspeed.
3. Forgive me, O God, for the times when I have thought myself to be sufficient without thee.
4. I will be molded by thee this day.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

1. "Love your enemies, and help them . . . and you will be sons of the High, for he is kind even to the ungrateful and the wicked."—Luke Goodspeed.
2. "If your enemy is hungry, feed him; if he is thirsty, give him drink; in this way you will make him feel a burning sense of shame."—Rom. Moffatt.
3. Forgive me, O Father, for any enmity in my heart toward any of thy children anywhere on earth.
4. I am resolved to live this day with goodwill toward all men everywhere.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## TODAY I WILL TRY NOT TO SHRINK FROM THE CROSS 19

1. "He was wounded for our transgressions, He was crushed for our iniquities . . . And the Lord made to light upon him the guilt of us all."—Isa. 53:5, 6.
2. "Blessed are those who have been persecuted for the sake of goodness! the Realm of heaven is theirs."—Matt. 5:10 Moffatt.
3. Forgive me, O Lord, for my timidity and cowardice and failure to witness boldly for thee.
4. Today I will take up the cross of devotion and try to follow wherever thou leadest.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## GOD PLEADS FOR ME TODAY

1. "The Spirit too is helping us in our weakness, for we do not know how to pray as we should, but the Spirit Himself pleads for us with unspoken yearnings."—Rom. 8:26 Williams.
2. "Utter a prayer to the Lord of the harvest that he send workers for the harvest."—Luke 10:2 Robinson.
3. Forgive me, O God, for the self-centeredness which has hindered my mission for others.
4. I will pray for others today as God is praying for me.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## THE HOLY SPIRIT WILL TEACH ME TODAY 21

1. "The Helper, the holy Spirit whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything and recall to you everything that I have said."—John 14:26 Moffatt.
2. "For we are a temple of the living God."—II Cor. 6:16.
3. Forgive me, O merciful God, for yielding to low impulses instead of responding to the appeal of thy holy Spirit.
4. Today I will be teachable.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## GOD KNOCKS AT THE DOOR OF MY LIFE EVERY HOUR

1. "If anyone listens to my voice and opens the door, I will be his guest and feast with him, and he with me."—Rev. 3:20 Williams.
2. "Do you not know that you are God's Sanctuary, and that the Spirit of God has His home within you?"—I Cor. 3:16 Weymouth.<sup>1</sup>
3. With humiliation I must confess that often the way I live bolts the door against God.
4. This day I am resolved to keep myself constantly sensitive and responsive to God's yearning presence.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

1. New Testament in Modern Speech, by R. F. Weymouth, published by Pilgrim Press, Boston.

## GOD WILL HELP ME TO BE GENTLE TODAY

1. "My God will gloriously supply all your needs with his wealth, through your union with Christ Jesus."—Phil. 4:19 Goodspeed.
2. "Blessed are the gentle, for they shall inherit the Promised Land."—Matt. 5:5 Easton.<sup>1</sup>
4. Today I will be gentle and generous.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

1. What Jesus Taught, B. S. Easton, published by Abingdon Cokesbury Press, Nashville.

## THE LORD WILL CLEANSE MY MIND TODAY

1. "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts, his majestic splendour fills the earth."—Isa. 6:3 Moffatt.
2. "Practice thinking on what is true, what is honorable, what is right, what is pure, what is lovable, what is high-toned, yes, on everything that is noble or excellent or praiseworthy."—Phil. 4:8 Williams.
3. Forgive me, O God, for impurity in thought and motive.
4. This day I will endeavor to keep my mind clean.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*



## GOD SPEAKS TO ME TODAY THROUGH BEAUTY

25

1. "The heavens proclaim God's splendour, the sky speaks of his handiwork."  
—Ps. 19:1 Moffatt.
2. "I raise my eyes to the hills; whence does my help come? My help is from the Lord."—Ps. 121:1 Smith-Goodspeed.
3. Why must I fail so often to see God at work in his marvelous creation?
4. From hour to hour I will recognize beauty in nature as gifts from the Creator.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## TODAY I WILL TRY TO SURRENDER UNCONDITIONALLY

27

1. "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."—Matt. 17:5.
2. "If anyone chooses to be my disciple, he must say 'No' to self, put the cross on his shoulders daily, and continue to follow me."—Luke 9:23 Williams.
3. Forgive me, O Lord Christ, for turning my back upon thee so often.
4. This day I will seek to surrender unconditionally to Christ.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## EVEN I AM PRECIOUS TO GOD THIS DAY

1

1. "I sit on high, enthroned, the Majestic One, and I am with the crushed and humble soul."—Isa. 57:15 Moffatt.<sup>1</sup>
2. "As a father is kind to his children, so the Lord is kind to those who revere him. For he knows our frame, he remembers that we are but dust."—Ps. 103:13, 14 Smith-Goodspeed.<sup>2</sup>
3. Forgive me, O God, for doubting thy concern and thy care for me individually.
4. Hour by hour I will seek to realize that my own life is essential to the fulfillment of thy purpose.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

1. James Moffatt, A New Translation of the Bible, published by Harper & Brothers, New York. 2. Smith-Goodspeed, The Complete Bible: An American Translation, published by the University of Chicago Press.

## HOURLY THE GOOD SHEPHERD WATCHES ME

1. "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep."  
—John 10:11.
2. "But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not, therefore, for ye are of more value than many sparrows."—Matt. 10:30, 31.
3. Forgive me, O Father, for returning so frequently thy concern and care to indifference and disobedience.
4. I know that my life is precious in thy sight this moment.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## GOD BRINGS DELIVERANCE THROUGH HIS FAITHFUL REMNANT

1. "I have come to throw fire on earth. Would it were kindled already."  
—Luke 12:49 Moffatt.
2. "A remnant will return—the remnant of Jacob—to the Mighty God."  
—Isa. 10:21 Smith-Goodspeed.
3. Forgive me, O God, for traveling so often the broad way that leads to destruction.
4. Today I will enter the strait gate and walk the narrow road that leads to life.

*Place this card where you will see it often. Repeat these words silently or aloud at meals and many other times during the day, and reflect prayerfully upon their meaning.*

## PRAYER CARDS

Every day a different one of these 28 cards should be placed in a conspicuous place where it will be seen frequently—on a desk or work-bench or mirror or kitchen sink.

The card is a constant reminder to pray, and provides the content of a daily prayer. Repeat the words silently many times during the day.

**Especially Helpful to the Sick and Convalescent**

35 cents per set

Send orders to

**KIRBY PAGE**  
LA HABRA, CALIF.